HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

THIRTY-FIVE CENTS

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NEWSPAPER

Radical Peace March Aids Viet Cong

Walter Teague of New York holds a Viet Cong flag aloft as newsmen interview him during the November 27 protest march on Washington.

This was the scene directly in front of the White House. March organizers claimed that the demonstrators came to Washington from all over the country.

Protest marchers walk by the White House (at right) on their way to a mass rally at the Washington Monument grounds. Police estimated that 22,000 marched.

The November 27 march on Washington, D.C., to protest U.S. involvement in Viet Nam and to urge an end to the war by negotiation has caused concern on the part of many persons in and out of government that such demonstrations may only prolong the war and increase American and South Vietnamese casualties.

The national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Andy Borg, who recently returned from a visit to the front lines, said last week that the domestic peaceniks have given the Communists false hope. "These demonstrations," he said, "have encouraged Red leaders to keep up the fighting in the belief that our nation is divided and that, consequently, communism can win by outlasting us. This simply means that by giving the enemy false optimism the protesters help keep the war going, which, in turn, means more U.S. fighting men being killed and wounded."

It was perhaps no accident that at about the same time the march on Washington was taking place, the Viet Cong launched an offensive which overwhelmed a South Vietnamese regiment in the Michelin valley, killing hundreds of soldiers, including some U.S. advisers.

Certainly the Communists were not disappointed in the march. *Pravda*, the official Soviet party newspaper, gave the demonstration its unqualified endorsement; Nguyen Huu Tho, president of the South Viet Nam Liberation Front, the political arm of the Viet Cong, radioed his best wishes for the success of the march; and Tass, the Soviet news agency, said the march was "evidence of the growth of the anti-war effort in the United States" and declared there were 50,000 demonstrators. (The Washington police estimate was only 22,000.)

North Vietnamese President Ho Chi Minh even sent his regards to two of the originators of the protest. In a cable to Dr. Benjamin Spock and Prof. H. Stuart Hughes, Ho said:

"I take this opportunity to warmly hail the American people's struggle for the immediate ending of the U.S. government's criminal war of aggression in Viet Nam, the cessation of the air attacks on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the withdrawal of U.S. troops, and for democratic liberties against racial discrimination."

The march was initiated by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), of which Spock and Hughes are co-chairmen, but virtually every far-left organization participated, including an outfit called the Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front, headed by Walter Teague (see photo).

Sanford Gottlieb, coordinator of the march, had earlier said only "authorized" signs would be allowed, but he admitted he did little to prevent inflammatory placards and Viet Cong flags from being

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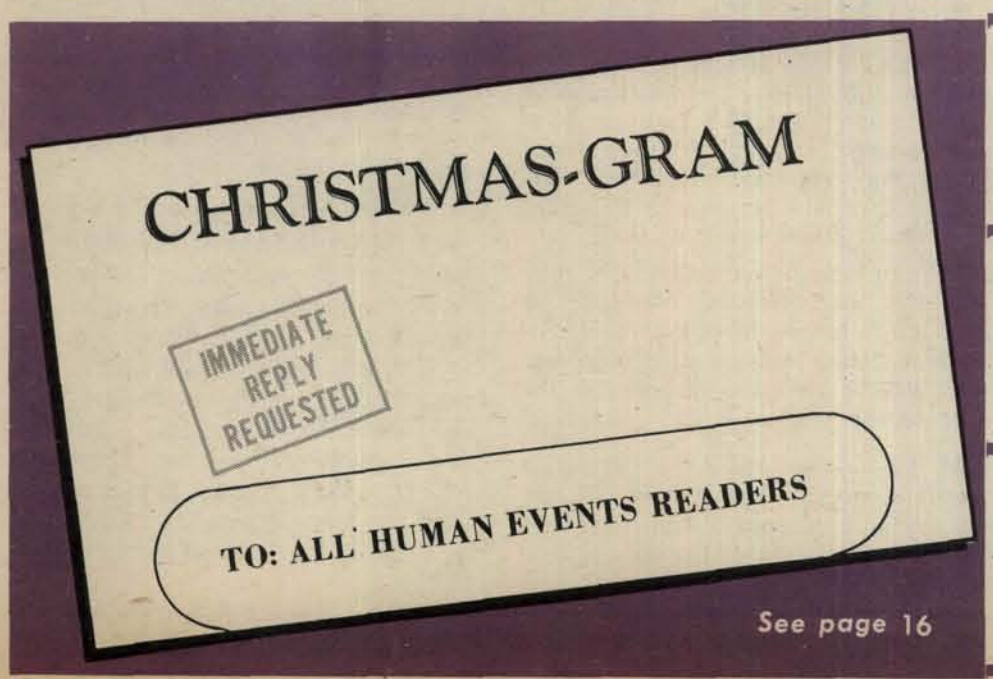

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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Insiders' Prediction:

Goldberg to Run for Senate—Then for U.S. Vice Presidency

By VICTOR RIESEL

Gastronomy is a handy guide to national politics.

Thus it is of considerable interest that U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg lunched with several of the country's most politically influential labor leaders during the quiet of the Veterans Day holiday.

In the small party at the Waldorf were the auto union chief Walter Reuther, garment and hat workers' presidents Dave Dubinsky and Alex Rose, who double as leaders of New York's Liberal party, and a prominent newsman.

Insiders immediately speculated that "Arthur" was readying some political

Arthur Goldberg is perhaps the only Democrat who could defeat New York's Sen. Jacob Javits.

action, perhaps another move in his spectacular, albeit itinerant, career.

The insiders were both wrong and right. The luncheon was strictly social. Just old friends. No politics of a personal nature was discussed. But it appears a certainty to some observers that the ambassador is interested in first running for the U.S. Senate in New York state and eventually the vice presidency of the United States.

Some influential Democrats on a national and state level, as well as key labor leaders and liberals, believe the ambassador is the only man who can halt the sweep of the pivotal state by the liberal Republican coalition of John Lindsay, Sen. Jack Javits and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller.

Accordingly, as the insiders see it, a draft movement will develop in an effort to convince the ambassador to run against the popular Sen. Javits for the Senate in 1968.

Thus, since this is a presidential election year, Mr. Goldberg would be running on the same ticket with President Lyndon Johnson—and Mr. Johnson would be running with Arthur Goldberg. Certainly this would be an asset in a year when Jack Javits is up for re-election.

Mr. Goldberg is considered the only man who can bring all sides together in a full fashioned labor-Liberal-Democratic coalition against John Lindsay, who will be riding mighty tall in the saddle at the time.

At the moment there are the Johnsonian Democrats who love the Liberals but not Bob Kennedy. There are the Liberals, who gave Mayor-elect Lindsay a balance-of-power vote, who still love the Johnsonian Democrats but not Bob Kennedy, nor the older, traditional machine Democrats. There is the powerful figure of Bob Kennedy who bucked the Liberals who loved John Lindsay in the recent climactic mayoralty election.

Bob Kennedy and the Liberal leaders go the gastronomic route in private and then leak the story so their feud does not get too public.

There's no slashing bitterness, but there's no unity either.

However, there is one man who can be the mediator, the ambassador to all such forces from all such forces—Arthur Goldberg. He is an intimate of President Johnson. He could not be closer to the Liberal party chiefs. He has been close to Bob Kennedy since the days he swung the labor leaders into line for the late President and away from Adlai Stevenson back in '60.

Thus, despite his present nominally isolated position in world diplomacy, he not only is the most powerful catalyst in the now creaking coalition but obviously the most powerful prospective candidate for the Senate.

Despite his worldy burdens he is in most regular touch with the Liberal, labor and Democratic leaders. He may be isolated but not insular.

His friends believe he can defeat Jack Javits in '68. The ambassador by that time will have had three years of almost daily prominence in this city and state. He, as did Bob Kennedy, easily can establish official residence and thus qualify.

And, say some of his supporters, with four years in the Senate, Arthur Goldberg would be a natural for a vice presidential nomination on the Democratic ticket. He would be qualified—behind him would be the years as America's Mr. Labor Lawyer, Mr. Secretary of Labor, Mr. Justice, Mr. Ambassador, Mr. Senator, and intimate political relationships with the past three Democratic Presidents.

To his friends, this is not theory—but a timetable.

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☐ ☐ ☐

LATEST CONCEPT in the civil rights struggle: Leftist attorney Bertram Edises is representing two Oakland, Calif., prostitutes who are appealing their misdemeanor convictions on the ground that the men arrested with them were not similarly charged. Edises says the women were denied equal protection of the laws and indicates he may take the case all the way to the Supreme Court. A report in the Scripps-Howard newspapers says that "prostitutes all over the country are likely to follow the proceedings with interest."

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British Commonwealth Secretary Arthur Bottomley (left) talks with Zambian Secretary of State Ditton Mwiinga about Zambia's request for British troops to 'protect' it from Rhodesia.

Where Has Reason Gone?

The Campaign Against Rhodesia

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

And so the campaign continues against the independent government in Rhodesia —an ugly campaign, unreasoning, demagogic—and the ironies mount up.

In the United Nations the air is filled with cries that the U.N. must not stand idly by while the "rights of man" are being violated in Rhodesia. Yet those who shed the largest tears stand dry-eyed as the rights of man are raped throughout the Eastern world.

By an overwhelming vote, the U.N.'s General Assembly calls for economic sanctions. To our own shame, Ambassador Goldberg joins the gang. Yet those who would close all ports to Rhodesian trade are strangely agreeable to other commerce—the commerce that feeds strategic goods to our enemies in Haiphong and Hanoi.

Our government joins in a fervid resolution denouncing Rhodesia's independence as a threat to international peace. Not a scrap of reasoned argument supports this declaration, but one might as well try reasoned argument on a lynch mob.

The sin of Ian Smith's regime is that the Rhodesian constitution fails to provide for the franchise in a fashion suitable to the tastes of Dahomey, Gabon and Chad. To any objective eye, the shortcomings of Rhodesia's constitution would seem to be matters "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction" of that beleaguered country, and as such, beyond the reach of U.N. intervention under the U.N. charter. But the delegates from Dahomey, Gabon and Chad —and from the United States—do not appear to have read that part of the U.N. charter lately.

Life magazine is full of moral outrage. Think of it! Under the Smith government, "220,000 whites intend to maintain absolute domination over four million blacks, no matter what the cost." Yet the other side of this proposition is that four million blacks would maintain absolute domination over 220,000 whites, no matter what the cost—and the cost would be prodigious.

This is the heart of the issue. To the kindergarten mentalities whose intellectual capacity begins with "one man" and concludes with "one vote," it sounds so plausible: Why shouldn't four million prevail over 220,000? As Edmund Burke observed 175 years ago, in reflecting upon the revolution in France, such an argument cannot be refuted if the constitution of a kingdom be a problem in arithmetic only. "This sort of discourse does well enough with the lamp-post for its second," said Burke. "To men who may reason calmly, it is ridiculous."

The problem in Rhodesia is no mere exercise in sums on a schoolboy's slate. We are not dealing with weights in a scale or numbers on a chart. The object is the formation of government, the preservation of order, the defense of property, the management of public affairs, the regulation of commerce, the administration of law. Those who would deliver Rhodesia into the hands of the four million blacks, out of some obsessive lust for instant democracy, have whipped reason out of their temples. They fancy that all men are equal. It is not so; it has never been so.

Do we learn nothing from our own history, our own laws, our own institutions? We do not send a boy with a jack-knife to operate upon a President, out of some delusion that competence runs with the edge on a blade. And by the same token, neither do we admit felons, morons and mewling infants to the polls. Implicit in the franchise requirements of our own land is the sound rule that the vote should be confined, however roughly, to those of presumed virtue and wisdom. It was not until August of 1920, just 45 years ago, that women were deemed the political equals of men.

Where, then, does the notion arise that the untutored blacks of Rhodesia are prepared for the heavy responsibilities it is proposed to put upon them? By what colossal impudence does the United States object to the composition of a distant parliament?

It is none of our business to say that Rhodesia's franchise requirements, as to property and education, should be rewritten to the model of Kansas or New York. The government of Ian Smith is capable of governing; it is pledged to a continued program of public education and private employment that will lift the native population steadily toward a better life. If colonial status is to end, what more reasonably could be asked?

The answer of the egalitarians is that it is not enough that colonialism should end. "White supremacy" also must end. The demand has become a fetish, so wrapped in a fuzzy emotion that it provokes irrational reverence. In any government, some man, or men, or group must always be "supreme," for power must be vested ultimately in particular hands and minds. In Rhodesia today, by reason of their inheritance and their labor, the industrious whites who built the country have established their supremacy. If this be treason, they are entitled to a chance to make the worst of it.

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How a Communist Speaker Can Mislead Naive College Students

From the *Daily Trojan*, Student Newspaper at the University of Southern California

When Dr. Herbert Aptheker came to speak recently it was announced that the topic of his address would be "The Negro Revolt—Its History, Its Meaning, Its Future."

Although nationally recognized as the unofficial historian of the American Communist party, we were told that Dr. Aptheker was here, not to speak as a Communist, but as an authority on the Negro.

Many students who supported Dr. Aptheker's visit on the principle of true academic freedom, an ideal we have continued to support, were seen on campus boasting to their friends that no

Communist party theoretician Herbert Aptheker came to USC as an "authority" on the American Negro.

Communist could convince them of anything.

Their pathetic naivete was shown for what it was as some of those same students emerged by the dozen from Bovard Auditorium making such exclamations as, "Did you hear him? Why, he's just as American as we are. His ideas really made sense. He really impressed me—not what I expected at all!"

What exactly did the professor from Columbia say? To begin with, Dr. Aptheker actually did no more than couch an attack on the American form of democratic government and present foreign policy within a loosely constructed address on the plight of the American Negro.

He began his address with the statement, "Slavery was basic to world capitalism and imperialism and especially to U.S. capitalism and imperialism." Ignoring any possible historic references to slavery found in societies other than capitalist, he went on to tell his audience that due to the "colossal error of the two-party system" and the fact that there exists some sort of insurance and industrial monopoly in the South, America must transform its methods of education, health and civil protection (which he later explained would be accomplished through a Socialist government).

Dr. Aptheker then digressed from the subject of the American Negro all the way over to the subject of Viet Nam, simply by saying that if Johnson wants to end the problem of the Negro, he must end the war in Southeast Asia. Somehow the subjects were related because of his original supposition that "slavery is basic to an imperialist society."

The audience, once having swallowed that theory, did not even notice that Dr. Herbert Aptheker was beginning to stray more and more from the title of his talk.

By now, the Communist who wasn't going to sway anybody was winning louder and louder rounds of applause.

Growing confident in his ability to woo the students at USC, Dr. Aptheker no longer cared whether he was being logical or consistent in his sensitive approach to a truly dramatic performance. In one breath he damned Thomas Jefferson as a man who had hypocritically signed the Declaration of Independence and a poster for a fugitive slave "with the same pen."

In the next breath, he proudly named Jefferson as being one of three heroes of Western society: Jefferson, Debs and DuBois!

Finally when he tried to make Warsaw analogous to Watts, Dr. Fred Krinsky had had enough, and at last called upon Dr. Aptheker to speak with some knowledge of history and reason of mind.

However, the fact was that with the exception of Dr. Krinsky, the panel of professors representing USC chose to confront Dr. Aptheker only on the issue of whether the Negro society in America today is in a period of revolution or protest. For all intents and purposes, it was an argument of semantics. It almost seemed to be a red herring for the fact they could not or did not wish to challenge the Communist on anthing more basic.

But the really tragic thing about the whole event was the number of bleeding hearts for "frustrated" Dr. Aptheker who sat in the audience nodding vigorously "so true, so true." They were the ones who "couldn't be convinced."

Having gained their academic freedom, they had only one question to ask the man. Should they prostrate themselves before Marx during or after the assembly?

□ □ □

REP. H.R. GROSS (R.-Iowa) notes that the government's electricity bill will rise by almost $1 million in the current fiscal year. "Whatever happened to LBJ's highly publicized campaign to save money by turning off the lights in the White House and government office buildings?" he asks.

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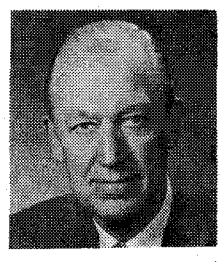
CAPITOL CAMERA

• House Republican Whip Leslie Arends last week assailed Administration fiscal policy as potentially suicidal. "The Johnson Administration appears to be approaching a headlong collision with economic facts of life which the planners of the 'Great Society' liked to pretend did not exist," he said. "In its headlong rush to legislate and appropriate without considering the circumstances, the Administration has dislocated even its own spending program. It is very questionable whether such panic measures as the roll-back of aluminum and copper prices can check the inflationary pressures which the Administration itself has generated. The tragedy is that it will be the American people who must pay the price."



ARENDS

• *The Association of American Physicians and Surgeons, conducting a nationwide campaign against Medicare, has estimated that more than 50,000 physicians and surgeons will refuse to participate in the program. Harry E. Northam, executive director of the association, emphasized that non-participating doctors will not strike or turn away their elderly patients, but they will refuse to accept direct payments from the federal government for medical services.*

• The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King has declared that if the House Committee on Un-American Activities conducts an investigation of the civil rights movement, it would face annihilation. King stressed that such an inquiry "would serve to mobilize many forces to get rid of the most un-American of all American organizations." Parroting the Communist party line, King also added that he personally objects to the committee because "it smears any movement which seeks to make integration a reality." Liberals, it is noted, usually object to the committee because, in their view, the committee is using unconstitutional powers in order to expose individuals associated with subversive groups. The Communist party, however, has in recent years laid down a different sort of propaganda barrage against the committee by falsely accusing it of smearing all groups that propose integration.

KING

• *A $10,000-a-year coordinator of the "War on Poverty" has quit her Chicago post because she says she objects "to being paid too much for accomplishing too little." Mary Lee Inger said her resignation as South Cook County coordinator of the poverty war was effective immediately, adding that she was "enormously uncomfortable" over the lack of achievement in the program.*

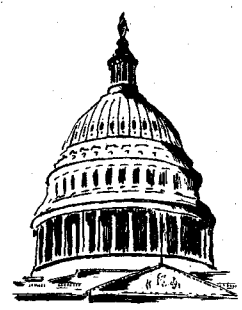
• Rep. John Erlenborn (R.-Ill.) last week blamed Defense Secretary Robert McNamara for shortages in vital military supplies. "For five years Secretary McNamara has been cutting back on the Army's request for aircraft, missiles and other equipment," Erlenborn said. "The result is a low general state of combat readiness of our troops." The GOP lawmaker noted that the Senate Preparedness subcommittee had reported that of the Army's entire force of 16 active divisions, only three consider themselves capable of going into combat within 30 days, let alone 24 hours.

ERLENBORN

This Week in Washington

Appeasement Powwow

The Red appeasement clique scored a major coup in the Nation's Capital last week with the aid of the Democratic Administration. The "soft-on-Red" triumph was the White House Conference on International Cooperation, called for by President Johnson on Oct. 2, 1964. Held in the plush Sheraton Park Hotel, the four-day parley was attended by some 5,000 persons, many of them top government policy makers.



The purpose of the conclave, according to a background sheet, was "to observe the 20th anniversary year of the United Nations as International Cooperation Year and to focus . . . attention on the positive things that men and nations could do to help one another solve mutual problems in every field of human endeavor."

In spite of the high-sounding phrases, however, the conference rapidly degenerated into a propaganda forum for the radical left; it was, in the phrase of one observer, an "appeaser's powwow." Moreover, the appeasement clique that ran the show gained decidedly favorable publicity from the conclave, primarily because of sponsorship by the White House itself.

The ultra-liberal nature of the conference was evident from the reports that flowed forth from various panels.

The Committee on International Law, for example, predictably advocated what its chairman, Charles S. Rhyne, has long proposed: scrapping of the Connally Amendment and having the United States accept compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court. Yet the Rhyne panel went even further: it also urged U.S. ratification of the consular convention with the Soviet Union, in spite of J. Edgar Hoover's warning that the treaty would create spy havens for the Soviets.

And the report of the Committee on Trade, stacked with such super-liberals as Walter Reuther and Charles P. Taft, plumped for increased trade with the Soviets.

But the study put forth by the Committee on Arms Control and Disarmament provided the most spectacular appeasement ploys. This committee was headed by Kennedy's and LBJ's former chief scientific adviser, Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner. Those who helped draft the committee report: former disarmament chieftain Harold Stassen; Roswell Gilpatric, Defense Secretary McNamara's ex-No. 2 man; and Carl Kaysen, a Kennedy disarmament adviser. Among the government consultants were three men from the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

A curious private consultant to the report was Amelia C. Leiss. Mrs. Leiss should be familiar to *Human Events* readers, for she is the same woman who helped put together the recent report by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace which mapped plans to wipe out the present pro-Western South African government with a U.N. military operation (See *Human Events*, July 17, page 4). Among the disarmament panel's amazing recommendations:

• That the United States should, "at a minimum," continue "to seek coordinated methods, with or without formal agreements, to destroy weapons deemed obsolete or superfluous . . . . More generally, we consider such deeper cuts in strategic inventories—on the order of a one-third cut—to be worth serious consideration." In short, the United States should definitely consider scrapping one-third of its strategic weapons without formal agreements or, presumably, an inspection system.

• That the United States should not worry too much about demanding such an inspection system. "The United States," the report points out, "has already accepted the notion that some comprehensive arms control agreements need not include inspection of operational weapon inventories: the U.S. 1964 freeze suggestion made this point."

• That the United States "take the lead in seeking a non-aggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organizations." This move, the report admits indirectly, would legitimize the illegal Communist conquest of Eastern Europe. The report also suggests a withdrawal of U.S. troops from Central Europe.

• That the United States "support suitable initiatives" which would bring Red China into the United Nations.

The most startling recommendation, however, centered around the controversial anti-ballistic missile. The United States, stressed the report, should refuse to deploy any defensive anti-ballistic missiles—"killers" of offensive missiles—for at least three years. The Soviets should also agree not to deploy such missiles, but the United States should not necessarily draw any explicit promises from the Soviets on this score or exact from them an airtight inspection system.

This recommendation has caused more than a mild storm among defense experts. The first nation to set up an ABM system, it is generally recognized, wins the cold war.

Yet this report urged the United States to refuse to begin deploying any such system even though it has been known for quite some time that the Soviets have already begun to set up anti-ballistic missile systems around both Leningrad and Moscow.

How much of an effect this appeasement-minded conference is going to have on immediate White House thinking is not known. But an ominous sign appeared in a New York *Times* story last week. Written by *Times* military reporter Jack Raymond, the article stated, the very day the Wiesner disarmament study was released, that "all indications now point to a further postponement by the Administration of a decision on whether to build an anti-missile missile system."

Unkept Soviet Promises

The Wiesner report on disarmament (see above) generally assumes the Soviets will live up to their own disarmament promises. But only a few days before the Wiesner study was officially released, Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D.-Wash.) declared in Seattle that the Soviet Union apparently had reneged on a promise to trim production of nuclear weapons material. Jackson is chairman of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee's military application subcommittee and is a member of the Senate Preparedness subcommittee.

The Washington lawmaker referred to an April 20, 1964, statement by then Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, issued the same day that President Johnson announced a four-year, 20-per-cent cut in U.S. plutonium production and a 40-per-cent decline in output of enriched uranium.

Khrushchev promised—and LBJ announced the promise during a New York speech—"to discontinue now the construction of two new big atomic reactors for the production of plutonium" to "reduce substantially" in "the next few years" output of U-235 for weapons and to allocate more fissionable material for peaceful uses.

The senator said that "contrary to a widespread impression that Moscow is cutting its strategic military capability, in truth Moscow is diligently expanding both its offensive and defensive capacity—including ballistic missile and nuclear warhead development and production . . . ."

Jackson, basing his statement on hard intelligence estimates, emphasized that Khrushchev's "successors apparently do not feel bound by that promise, for we have received no similar assurances from them. Nor have they given any indication that production is actually being reduced—from their statements and actions the opposite is true. Perhaps our own position will have to be reconsidered, so that we are not maneuvered into a position of unilateral arms limitation in a critical area."

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Subsidized Racism

Harlem's Black Arts Repertory Theater, which has spewed forth federally subsidized white-hating plays, was defended last week by the theater's chief financial angel— Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity (GHQ for the "War on Poverty").

The "theatre workshop" had an eight-week run in a three-story tenement in the heart of Harlem last spring. It was coached by LeRoi Jones, whose off-Broadway hit *The Toilet* received mixed reviews last year. Even the liberal Washington *Post* describes Jones as a "race-baiting, white-hating Negro playwright."

"The project" said the *Post*, "was part of the controversial HARYOU-ACT program, the multi-million-dollar anti-poverty campaign in Harlem. Chalk-faced Negroes perform the roles of whites, frequently portrayed as homosexuals, in Black Arts Theatre dramas which vent hatred of 'whitey' and envisage a day of Negro separation from the white world."

Jones, who admits he sees nothing wrong "with hating white people," once wrote: "The force we want is of 20 million spooks [Negroes] storming America with furious cries and unstoppable weapons. We want actual explosions and actual brutality."

Jones recently penned a vicious parody of the Jack Benny radio program for the workshop. By the end of the play, called "Jello," Rochester, Benny's likeable chauffeur, has killed all the whites in the cast.

Nevertheless, OEO's deputy director of publicity, James Kelleher, defended the program last week, saying: "We'd rather see those kids fussing on the stage than on the streets." Kelleher added that HARYOU-ACT had wanted Jones in the program. "He is a legitimate playwright, whatever you think of his views," said Kelleher. "We have no apologies."

• Sargent Shriver's anti-poverty program is now in the business of aiding farm workers striking in the vineyards of Kern and Tulare counties in northern California. The San Joaquin County Community Action Council, an anti-poverty project financed mainly with federal funds, met at Stockton recently, pledging material aid in the form of food, clothing and money to the striking farm workers, who are also receiving generous financial aid from Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers.

"The CAC," according to the November 27 AFL-CIO *News*, "voted to use its Stockton headquarters as a collection center for gifts which were to be taken to the strikers at Delano, their headquarters. Another depot was set up for the Tracy area."

Mrs. Arthur Sonnenberg, a committee member, urged the CAC to record itself as "supporting the farm workers' struggle for the right to organize." The farm employes are fighting, she said, "for the very things we talked about" when the CAC recently endorsed extension of federal wage and hour minimums to agricultural workers.

Congo Cover-up

The most spectacular thing about the Congolese coup, say diplomatic experts here, is not the coup itself but the complete U.S. press blackout of stories about President Joseph Kasavubu's left-wing flirtations, flirtations which became so dangerous they finally prompted his downfall and his replacement by Maj. Gen. Joseph Mobutu.

While these leftist actions were dealt with after the Mobutu coup, not a word, note Congolese observers, appeared about them in the American newspapers prior to Kasavubu's removal. Indeed, notes one commentator, the "kept Eastern press" seemed to be diligently covering for Kasavubu because he was locked in combat for the presidency with the popular anti-Communist, Moise Tshombe.

The American press coverage was so anti-Tshombe, says one informant, that it even refused to publish the fact that the Congolese parliament on November 5 voted 90 to 40 to condemn Kasavubu for acting unconstitutionally in dismissing Tshombe from the government.

Even more shocking was the press' refusal to publicize Kasavubu's ever-leftward bent. Kasavubu, for example, had been making blatant deals with leftist extremists. He had restored relations with the Peking-oriented Brazzaville Congo and he had cozied up to pro-Communist Kwame Nkrumah, even promising to hire Nkrumah troops as mercenaries. Worse still, Kasavubu's tiny but tough minister of interior, Victor Nendaka, had been closing down anti-Kasavubu newspapers and was piecing together a political party for Kasavubu made up of adherents of the late leftist premier, Patrice Lumumba, and other left-wingers.

What finally triggered the coup was a "spontaneous" demonstration of leftist youths who paraded through the streets carrying banners with such slogans as "Down with the Yankees" and "Tshombe to the Firing Squad." The army arrested the agitators, but when Nendaka's police let them go Mobutu staged his anti-Communist coup.

African observers welcome the coup against Kasavubu, but stress they are worried about certain State Department elements who are trying to push the anti-Kasavubu coup into an anti-Tshome coup as well.

Prior to Kasavubu's removal most observers agreed that Tshombe would almost certainly win the election scheduled for early next year—if it was held on a fair basis. Mobutu, however, has canceled any election and has—with State Department intrigue, some feel—been working against any Tshombe influence in the new government now being set up.

The coup remains a much discussed topic in diplomatic circles, but the failure of the American press to divulge the extent of the growing Red influence prior to the coup is receiving an equal amount of attention.

GOP Win

Signs of dissatisfaction with the "Great Society"? Republicans in Vermont scored a major victory November 23 in a special election to fill all 150 seats in the Vermont House of Representatives and all 30 seats in the Vermont Senate. The election was decreed by a three-judge federal panel which had accepted the state legislature's reapportionment plans.

Political pros in Vermont are saying the election reveals large-scale disillusionment with the "Great Society" and that this disenchantment probably extends to other New England states.

Before the election Republicans had controlled the House 186 to 60 and the Senate 17 to 13. After the election the GOP controlled the House 115 to 35, the Senate 24 to 6. They held 72.2 per cent of the seats in the old House and now hold 76.7 per cent of the 150-member House. In the Senate, they gained seven seats, bringing their margin over the Democrats to pre-1957 levels.

Gov. Philip H. Hoff, the state's first Democratic governor in more than a century, termed his party's defeat "horrendous."

LBJ's Inflation

Conservative GOP leaders in the House and Senate are getting the credit for having warned President Johnson that the country couldn't afford to have both guns and butter without the threat of serious inflation. These predictions about LBJ's big spending programs were borne out last week with the announcement that the Consumer Price Index had risen to a record high in November.

The 1.8-point increase over last year was so much higher than the leaps in prices in previous years that LBJ felt constrained to call in his economic advisers and make a soothing but superficial speech to the Business Council in Washington.

The President's address did not go over well with business leaders. While he told them that *they* must match the sacrifices of the boys in Viet Nam, he failed to give one hint that he would call off any "Great Society" programs.

Nor did he mention the fact that his budget director had recently estimated that federal spending for 1966 would soar to a record high of between $105 and $107 billion, leaving in its wake an $8.5 to $10.5-billion deficit.

CAPITOL CAMERA

• One hundred prominent Americans—ranging from John Dos Passos on the right to James B. Conant on the left—have issued a ringing declaration of support for U.S. intervention in South Viet Nam. In a statement issued by Freedom House in New York City, the signers said the United States must help the people of South Viet Nam resist subversion and foreign military intervention "plotted, directed and supplied from the north." They said the United States must demonstrate to the world that "Communist doctrines of guerrilla warfare and 'wars of national liberation' will not succeed against a determined people with firm allies." Signatories included former Vice President Richard Nixon, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Gen. Lucius Clay.

NIXON

• *Sargent Shriver said on November 24 that he was "concerned but not surprised or dismayed" by recent Job Corps violence. Two days later, a Job Corps trainee was stabbed to death in an Austin, Tex., street brawl. Two other Job Corpsmen were arrested at the same time for attacking a policeman.*

• Rep. William Minshall (R.-Ohio) predicted last week that the Administration will have to ask Congress for an emergency appropriation of $14 billion in January to cover the current costs of the Vietnamese war. Minshall, a member of the House Defense Appropriations subcommittee, said the war is now costing $750 million a month and the tab is rising. "Members of the defense subcommittee have been alerted to expect a supplemental request as soon as Congress reconvenes in January," he said.

MINSHALL

• *Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) and his wife, Yvette, failed to appear in court November 24 for a pre-trial financial examination stemming from his refusal to pay all of a $46,500 defamation judgment to a Harlem widow he libeled. The attorney for Mrs. Esther James, Raymond Rubin, said he would prepare an application for a show cause order seeking to hold Powell in contempt of court.*

• An organization calling itself the Ad Hoc Committee of Veterans for Peace in Viet Nam recently ran almost a full-page ad in the New York *Times* assailing U.S. intervention in the Vietnamese conflict. Among the "veterans" who affixed their signatures were Herbert Aptheker, the Communist party's official historian, and Irving Peress, the 5th Amendment pleader uncovered by the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy in 1954.

APTHEKER

• *Republican leaders have made clear that the controversial "War on Poverty" will be a major issue in the 1966 off-year elections. GOP Senate leader Everett Dirksen says that Democratic politicians are using anti-poverty funds to "buy" elections, warns that voter reaction will be hostile.*

• Sen. Wallace Bennett (R.-Utah) said last week that the 89th Congress will go down in history as the "Credit Card" Congress. "Our children and grandchildren will be paying on the debts that it created for years and years," he said. The GOP lawmaker said also that extensive work must be done to redraft legislation rammed through the past Congress by LBJ.

BENNETT

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$200 Million Would Bypass States

Gardner Calls for Direct Federal Aid To End 'De Facto' School Segregation

From the Allen-Scott Report

President Johnson is considering a potentially highly controversial addition to his "Great Society's" multi-billion-dollar education program—federal funds for the construction of elementary and secondary schools.

This new federal aid, which would be used primarily to attack *de facto* segregation in Northern cities, is being pressed by HEW Secretary John Gardner, the Administration's chief education policy maker.

Despite the huge amount of education legislation this year, Secretary Gardner is seeking White House backing for new congressional authority to permit the U.S. Office of Education to make $200 million available directly to school districts for the construction of classrooms that would serve areas where white and Negro neighborhoods merge.

Under Gardner's plan, the Elementary and Secondary School Act of 1965 would be amended and expanded to authorize this direct approach rather than routing the funds through state agencies as now required.

The 1965 school aid program, which was approved by Congress last April, provides $1.2 billion for state education agencies to allocate to local school boards for "improvement of instruction" rather than construction.

This and other federal aid programs make available only a very limited amount of money for erecting grade and high schools serving large numbers of children of federal employes and for vocational and experimental instruction centers.

In the White House discussions now under way on the President's 1966 legislative program, Secretary Gardner is contending that massive and direct government intervention is necessary to end *de facto* segregation in schools in cities such as Boston, Chicago, Cleveland and Detroit.

He argues that the Administration must take positive action to prod and assist local authorities to achieve greater integration by offering them additional federal aid. Because of the emphasis on local control in existing legislation, Gardner points out he cannot channel or use funds to attack the *de facto* segregation problem.

This view is strongly supported by Francis Keppel, commissioner of education and assistant HEW secretary. Gardner is carrying the ball in the White House councils, as he carries much more weight with the President.

Aides say Gardner and Keppel want the new authority to commit the Administration to a policy that has been bitterly resisted by school boards in heavily Democratic Northern cities, especially Chicago.

Such a controversial commitment would be particularly significant in the light of Keppel's recent discomfiture when he attempted to freeze federal aid to Chicago schools. On orders from the White House, he was forced to release the money when Mayor Richard Daley protested vehemently to President Johnson.

To prepare a strong case for the desired congressional authority, Secretary Gardner has directed the Office of Education to immediately investigate all complaints alleging racial discrimination in Boston and other Northern cities.

These findings will be sent to the White House before Congress returns in January so President Johnson can determine whether he wants to include Gardner's far-reaching plan in the State of the Union address.

Biggest obstacles to the proposal are the Budget Bureau and the soaring costs of the Viet Nam war.

Budget Bureau authorities, who pass on all major spending, are opposed on the ground the array of education legislation enacted this year will require huge, and as yet uncalculated, increases in federal outlays in 1966.

With Viet Nam expenditures soaring skyward, budget officials are against new large-scale increases in domestic outlays.

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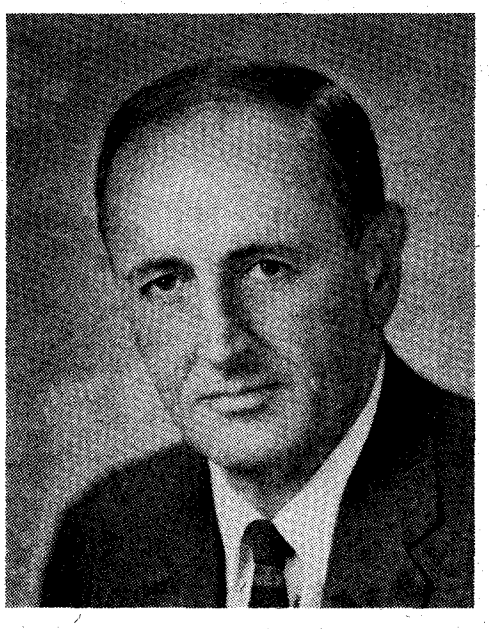

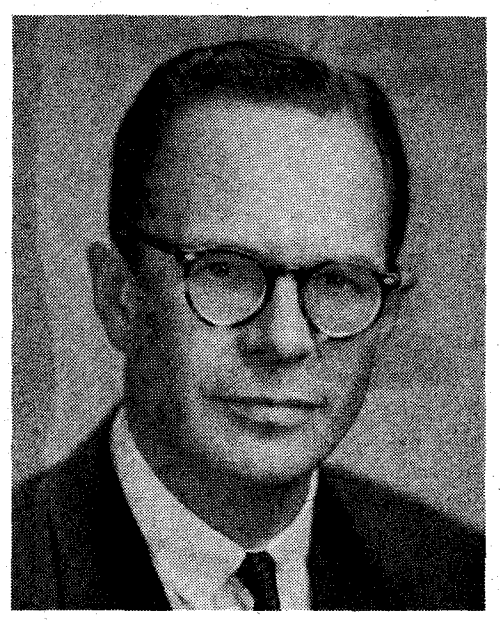

Health, Education and Welfare Secretary John Gardner (left) and U.S. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel are both pushing the revolutionary plan.

To Offset COPE

Business Strategists Map Plans for 1966 Elections

By VICTOR RIESEL

On November 16 the President of the United States dispatched a promissory note to his good friend, the president of the auto workers' union.

It was a "Dear Walter" letter. And it pledged to Reuther the unleashing of a White House drive for the passage of the remaining labor program when the Congress returns from home and hearth.

There was nothing "iffy" about the President's promise to fight for the labor leaders' most prized objectives of the '65 session—repeal of the law which makes it possible for the states to ban the union shop; higher and wider minimum wages and longer and steadier unemployment insurance.

Walter Reuther's success in politics is a model for businessmen.

" . . . many vital objectives have not been attained," said the President, in the two-page letter after recounting the victories in the recent congressional session.

"Amendment of the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Unemployment Insurance laws is part of the unfinished business of the Congress and the nation. These must be given high priority.

"We have made significant progress in 1965 toward the long-sought goal of repealing Section 14b. Just as we had to come back last year to finish the unfinished battle for Medicare, we will come back in the next session to remove this devisive provision from the law."

The letter closed with greetings to the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department's annual convention. The President hoped the parley would "prove highly productive and fruitful for the men and women you represent and for the nation you serve so faithfully."

This letter has become a conversation piece among businessmen in the big town. They are realists. They know that power is in votes—and that the congressmen whom the businessmen count as friends just don't count up high enough to stop the labor drive up the Hill.

These industrialists—among whom Reuther would not exactly win a most popular personality contest—don't blame him and the other labor leaders for getting the jump on them. They rue it. And they're organizing in an effort to beat him at his own political game.

For some time now this column has been chronicling the life and hard times of their brainchild, the Business-Industry Political Action Committee (BIPAC). It is directed by two modest men in a modest office at 14 West 49th Street, New York City, in a mood which is as rueful as it is hopeful.

In less than two years BIPAC has set up State Businessmen's Political Committees in some 30 states.

On December 1 the committee chiefs—most of them prominent business executives—met for an afternoon in the Waldorf. They talked for an hour or so; exchanged experiences, discussed expansion into every state during the 1966 congressional campaign; grabbed a cocktail and headed into the most uncertain competition of their careers.

They're going to attempt to have enough political apparatus to meet labor's Committee on Political Education head on in 103 congressional districts.

Most of them have not yet heard of the "Dear Walter" letter. But all of them are fully aware of the successful alliance of labor and liberals and most of the Democratic party.

The industrialists are wasting no time on rancor or recriminations. They're building up a new "sales" front.

"It took COPE 20 years to get it where it is now," said one of the strategists recently. "The trade union boys realized very early what basic power there is in politics. But in general the business people have not yet recognized this, strange as it seems. Or if they've recognized it, they hadn't moved until we began organizing BIPAC."

But how to compete with COPE, whose unions have 14 million members well organized in nearly every state? BIPAC's directors believe there is ample manpower—and more—on the business side. They reckon that there are five million business establishments in the country and "almost 30 million people in the proprietory, managerial, supervisory, clerical, sales and professional categories." They really have more potential manpower than does labor.

How to reach them? BIPAC's tacticians have been urging "the chief executive officer" of each business "to address a personal letter to each of his associates, enclosing BIPAC information and a membership application." They say it works.

It may take some time before they give labor a run on the political front. But the fight sure is looming.

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The Viet Nam War

The Illusion of a 'Settlement' Is Squandering American Lives

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

Administration strategists rationalize their strange and costly decisions in Viet Nam by asserting that this is a *totally different* war. It isn't.

In its technical aspects, the war in Viet Nam is very much like the one we fought in New Guinea and the East Indies during World War II. The same jungles, the lack of modern facilities and the fanatical enemy were all there. But World War II in the Pacific was different because Gen. Douglas MacArthur then fought to *win* with the smallest possible cost in American lives.

The war in Viet Nam is like the war in Korea in the way it is being waged. President Johnson is squandering American lives in Viet Nam just as President Truman did in Korea, and for the same reason. He pursues an illusion that his forbearance increases the prospect of a negotiated settlement. As in Korea, the Communists are quite satisfied to chew up American forces in a protracted war of attrition.

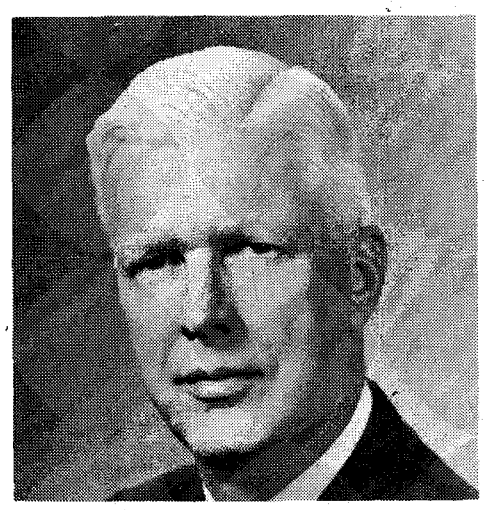
The illusions of the presidential advisers are measured in the escalating failure of events to fulfill strategic predictions. We had been told that our bombing of selected targets in North Viet Nam would choke off the flow of forces and supplies to the Viet Cong. Now we learn that in this very period, when our amateur strategists thought they were throttling Viet Cong support, North Viet Nam increased its regular forces in the south—and the scale of fighting. We are making a further commitment of ground forces to South Viet Nam. How can the McNamara judgments be so wrong?

The war in Viet Nam seems new and different only to men who do not understand war; and they are, therefore, baffled by the seeming complexity of the many considerations which must be weighed. Like novices playing their first game of bridge, they are trying to sort out and evaluate factors which have long been known and evaluated by the older hands at the table. Their fumbling is costing not points, *but lives!*

The more war changes, the more it is the same. If you have superior power and are prepared to use it, no one will molest you. But if you have superior power and *are* afraid to use it, a prudent enemy will attack you with the purpose of whittling down your strength.

He will seek terms of conflict which increase your losses and minimize his own; and if you allow such terms, he will fight until you quit. But if you employ your superior power to drastically increase his costs while conserving your own strength, he will quit.

An experienced and knowledgeable military strategist, Maj. Gen. Lane recently retired from active service in the Army in order to write freely about U.S. military policy. He is a graduate of West Point, has served in every major theater of the world and has taught tactics and strategy at the Air Command School. Gen. Lane was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal for his work with Gen. Douglas MacArthur in the Pacific during World War II—a campaign which gave him the knowledge to speak with particular authority in this article.



Gen. Lane contends that the West's defeats over the past 30 years have been mainly intellectual and that the overriding problem facing us today is "power and how to use it to preserve peace."

It is grave folly for any nation to subject its war effort to the control of men who do not understand the basic realities of war and peace. But this is just what we are doing. Events have underscored time and again the illusion which dominates American policy in Southeast Asia. Yet President Johnson still persists in his misguided policy. He can change the conduct of the war only by changing his advisers, and he seems unprepared for such a move.

Americans must consider seriously, as they did in ending the Korean War, whether the Democratic party has since World War II become so infiltrated by the virus of pacifism that it is incapable of leading this country to victory in war.

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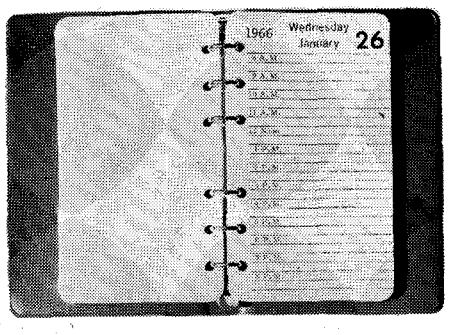

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Scranton, Scott and Specter

The Republican Crisis in Pennsylvania

By IAN HAY

It was probably no more than a coincidence that Barry Goldwater chose, for the first time, to identify Gov. William Scranton as one who laid the foundation for his defeat in the same week that a left-wing, ADA-endorsed Democrat was victorious in Philadelphia's district attorney race on the *Republican* ticket!

Thus having emerged as one of the prime architects of the GOP defeat last year as a result of the vituperation he heaped on Barry Goldwater in the pre-convention period, Gov. Scranton, with the help of liberal Sen. Hugh Scott, capped his destruction of the party, at least in Pennsylvania, by introducing into the "Republican" column a leftist Democrat—a man who is still a registered Democrat and who flaunts his affiliation for all Republicans to see!

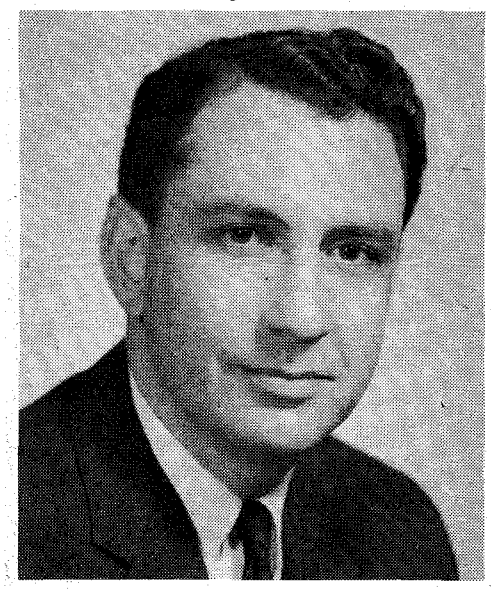
Pennsylvania Gov. William W. Scranton (left), one-time presidential hopeful, and liberal Sen. Hugh Scott, teamed up to turn the Keystone State GOP to the left, thus alienating party regulars.

The 'ADA Republican'

Throughout the rest of the state, this is regarded as one of the shoddiest maneuvers in Pennsylvania's GOP history.

Scranton and Scott bulldozed regular Republican opposition to running Arlen Specter, the "Democratic Republican." Scott, who managed to be out of the country when the crucial vote on the right-to-work filibuster was taken (he voted to break the filibuster and was on record for repeal of 14b) even sent his administrative assistant, Bob Kunzig, and his PR man to help in Specter's campaign.

Naturally, Scranton as well as liberal state Republican Chairman Craig Truax hailed Specter's election win as a "great Republican victory," but the response throughout the rest of Pennsylvania's GOP apparatus was one of anger over this brazen maneuver. (Many Republican leaders confessed that they unfortunately were not aware of Specter's leftward leanings until they had learned about them through the *Human Events* disclosure a week before the election.)



Arlen Specter, newly-elected Philadelphia district attorney, is the darling of Pennsylvania's GOP liberals. He is still a registered Democrat.

Not a single Republican leader would second the Scranton-Truax comment. Instead, they asked: Was there not a single genuine Republican of stature in all of Philadelphia County who was up to the task of running for DA?

Throughout the rest of the state, Democratic mayors were sweeping in; even the Republican mayor of Scranton, Scranton crony William Schmidt, was defeated, such is the lustre of the governor of Pennsylvania.

In Pittsburgh, Vincent Rovitto, a conservative businessman, came to the rescue of the GOP when again the mayoralty almost went by default to the incumbent, Democratic party hack Joseph Barr. Rovitto put on one of the most intense and sustained drives seen in years and considering that he received practically no financial help from the area's Republican fat cats, turned in an outstanding job, keeping Barr's majority within respectable enough bounds to enable the GOP to capture two county seats.

There have been strong rumors that super-liberal Republicans in the county dispatched upwards of $150,000 to "Republican" John Lindsay in New York and Rovitto is understandably bitter, having put about $60,000 of his own money in the futile campaign.

1964 Lethargy

Thus, one year before the expiration of Gov. Scranton's somewhat mediocre term in which he has managed to claim credit for everything but Halley's Comet, the party in the state has rigor mortis.

Instead of a robust, vigorous statewide GOP organization, the Scranton legacy is a state payroll loaded with Democratic holdovers whom he blanketed in; a left-wing Democrat holding the office of district attorney of Philadelphia with the patronage that this entails, and a horde of jubilant Democrats eagerly spoiling to take over the governorship next year—a feat they well might pull off. To add to the GOP's problems, inept and bumbling State Chairman Truax, who has been too busy pushing Scranton's waning fortunes to concentrate on building the party, is still under fire for his lethargy in last year's presidential effort.

Already Republican hopefuls are beating the drums for the gubernatorial primary scheduled for next spring. So far the only reasonably certain candidate is one-time conservative Congressman Richard S. Schweiker of Philadelphia's Main Line. Schweiker was riding the conservative boom in 1962-63, but went through a sudden metamorphosis when Goldwater was defeated. Since then his voting record has stood somewhere between that of John Lindsay and Adam Clayton Powell. Schweiker has been urging Republicans to "forget about issues and concentrate instead on personalities" —the inevitable chant of a politician who prefers to hide a squalid voting record.

Schweiker is one of a group of Republicans in Congress which the distinguished New York *Times* correspondent, Arthur Krock, has described as "LBJ's Salvage Corps" because they have consistently provided the margin needed to put over "Great Society" legislation. It also includes ultra-liberal Pennsylvanians James G. Fulton and Robert Corbett, both from Allegheny County, who voted to repeal 14b, to pass Medicare, to pack the Rules Committee and to seat the far-left Mississippi Freedom party delegation.

Schweiker insists that he will run in the primary whether he is endorsed or not, but he is unlikely to win since he has managed to alienate the conservative rank and file of the state's GOP organization by his flagrant opportunism.

Republican pros in the state are instead putting their money on respected, taciturn Lt. Gov. Raymond P. Shafer of Meadville, who has been somewhat overshadowed in the state capitol by all the publicity about Scranton.

Shafer has been an excellent lieutenant governor, however, and was a capable state senator before that. Holder of a Phi Beta Kappa key and an impeccable combat record in World War II, Shafer is regarded as a traditional Republican of the type who will not permit intra-party strife to weaken the organization as Scranton has done. His pronouncements leave no doubt about his essentially conservative stand on fiscal matters and, while he has not commented on the "Specter victory" in Philadelphia, it is unlikely that he would be any party to so crude an emasculation of the Republican party.

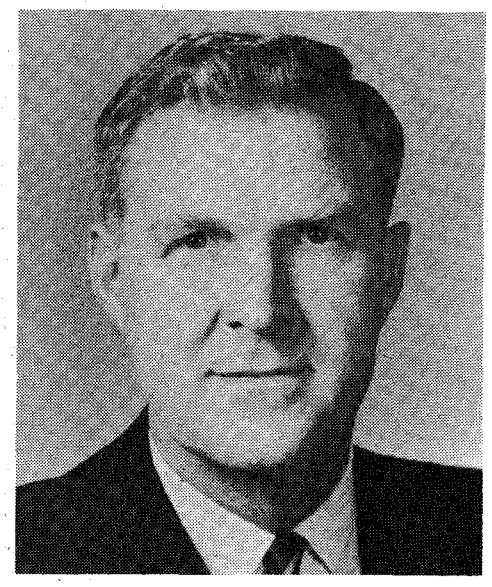
Nixon over Scranton

Thus, except for Shafer, the party's fortunes are about as low as they can get; no Republican of any consequence in the state would give a plugged nickel for Scranton's presidential chances. For the moment, in the absence of another contender, the great bulk of the state's organization leans toward Richard Nixon.

Enterprising Republicans in the western part of the state would like to do something about ultra-liberal Representatives Fulton and Corbett, who are clearly among those members who have caused the present Congress to be called a "rubber stamp." Indeed, the active Young Republican group in the Pittsburgh area has called upon Fulton to either "resign or join the Democratic party where you belong." A recent voting index showed Fulton voting with the Democrats on 13 of 15 issues.

GOP 'Me-tooism'

It would appear, therefore, that in the immediate future the Pennsylvania GOP is going to be offered a choice between liberal Republicans who always vote with the Democrats and left-wing Democrats masquerading under the Republican label.



Highly respected Lt. Gov. Raymond Shafer, a fiscal conservative, is seen as a gubernatorial candidate who would not split the GOP organization as Gov. Scranton has done.

It appears there is no escape in any Conservative party movement. Grass-roots Republicans across the state are essentially conservative, but for the present they seem determined to remain Republicans; they just feel they have been led to slaughter by Hugh Scott and Bill Scranton.

An ad hoc "Conservative" group operating in the state is split between one faction headed by ailing W. Henry Mac Farland, controversial Philadelphian who garnered 110,000 votes in a primary contest with Hugh Scott in 1964 without even leaving his living room, and another group that wants no part of Mac Farland's dubious past connections, including a citation from the HCUA for once belonging to the National Renaissance party, a pro-Fascist organization.

Thus, a formerly vibrant, principled Pennsylvania GOP that at one time stood for something has been denuded of its vitality and purpose by politicians of both parties who are slowly turning the Grand Old Party into a directionless nothing guided by "pragmatic" politicians who can be at once both Republican and Democrat.

Its once robust body is crawling towards Potter's Field.

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Continued from Page One

Radical Peaceniks Aid Viet Cong

displayed. "Above all," he said, "we must be non-violent. We cannot remove the flags forcibly." Gottlieb's feeble efforts to avoid "extremism" fell on deaf ears as many pro-Communist sympathizers with the red flags showed up.

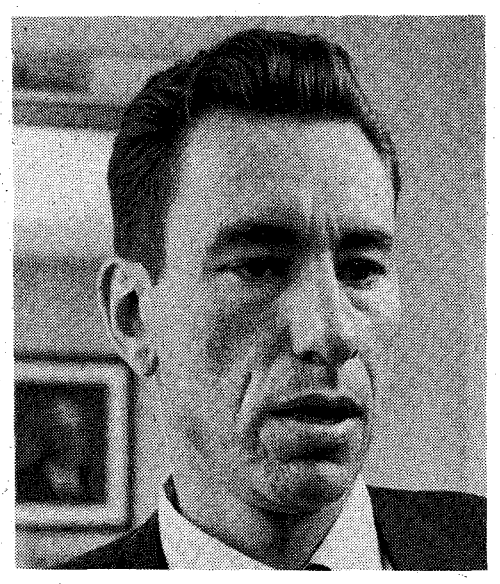
Nor, apparently, did Gottlieb do anything to prevent outright Communists from participating in the demonstration. The march had received extensive advance publicity and praise in the *Worker* and the party members responded. Busloads came from New York, Philadelphia and other Eastern cities and small groups even arrived from as far away as San Francisco.

Among the individual party leaders in attendance were: James Jackson, party vice president and editor of the Worker; **Arnold Johnson, the party's national legislative director; James West, chief Midwest organizer for the Communists; and Gilbert Green, a member of the party's National Committee.**

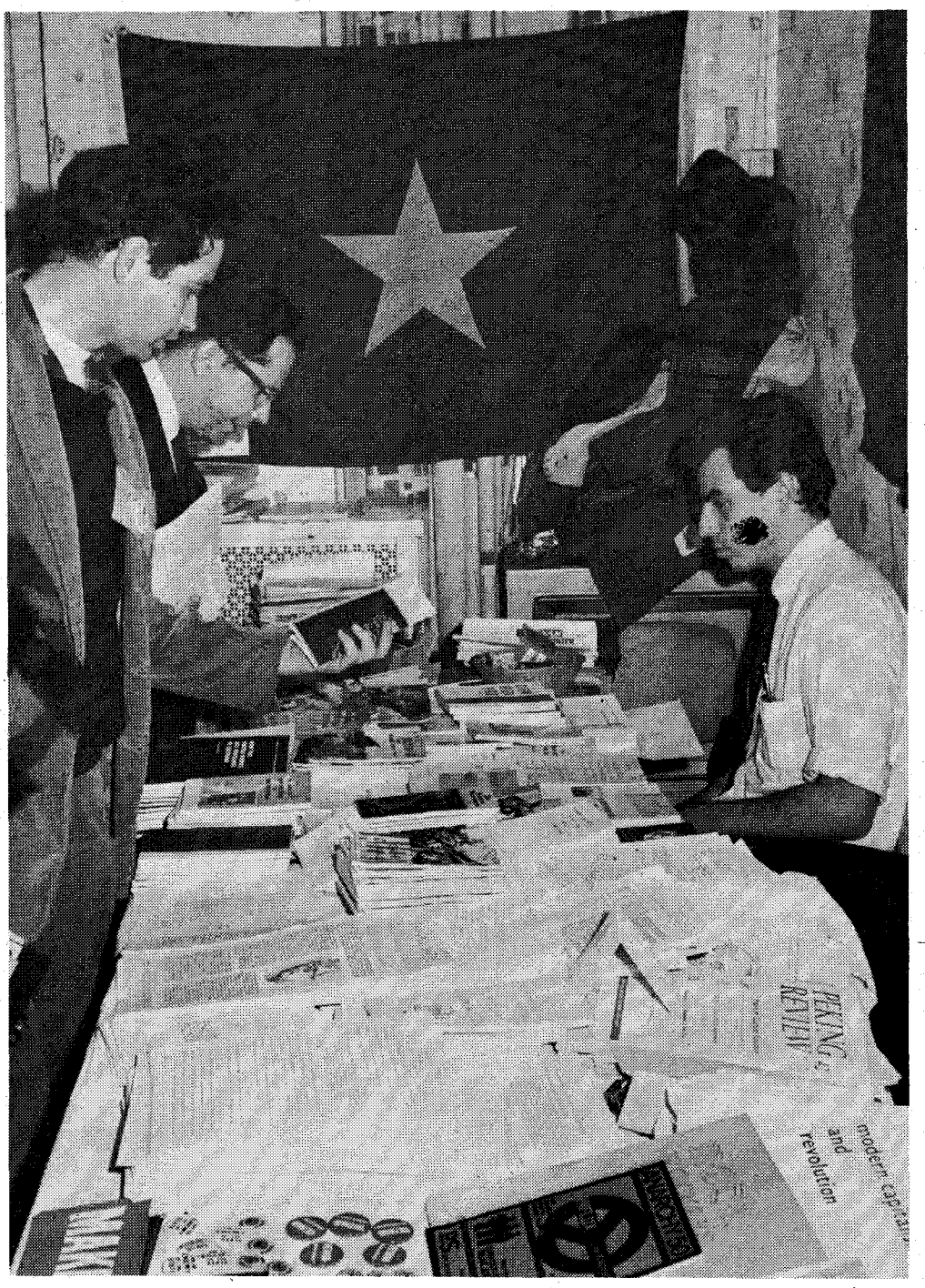
But radical participation was not limited to the Communist party. Other leftist organizations in the demonstration included: the Communist-controlled W. E. B. DuBois Clubs; the Socialist Workers party, which is a Marxist splinter group termed subversive by the attorney general; the pro-Peking Progressive Labor party; and Youth Against War and Fascism, a militant organization that considers the American Communist party lacking in revolutionary zeal.

Columnist Fulton Lewis Jr. has reported members of another group on the scene: "The New York chapter of Women Strike for Peace, a radical peace group, sponsored a 20-car train that brought 3,500 marchers to the Nation's Capital. The leader of this delegation was Lorraine Gordon, an attractive housewife who spent two weeks in Moscow earlier this spring. While in the Soviet capital, Mrs. Gordon conferred with representatives of the North Vietnamese government and the Communist Viet Cong on ways in which the American peace movement can facilitate the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Viet Nam."

The leftist character of the rally was highlighted by the list of speakers. Among them were: baby doctor Benjamin Spock (see *Human Events,* November 27); Mrs. Martin Luther King Jr.; Socialist Norman Thomas; Dr. Edwin Dahlberg, former president of the National Council of Churches; Rep. George E. Brown (D.-Calif.); Carl Oglesby, president of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Ronnie Dugger, editor of the *Texas Observer.*



Sanford Gottlieb, coordinator for the November 27 march, discusses plans.



Before the march, Austin Straus, right, of New York offered for sale Viet Cong flags and reading matter, including the "Peking Review." Straus is a member of the U.S. Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam.

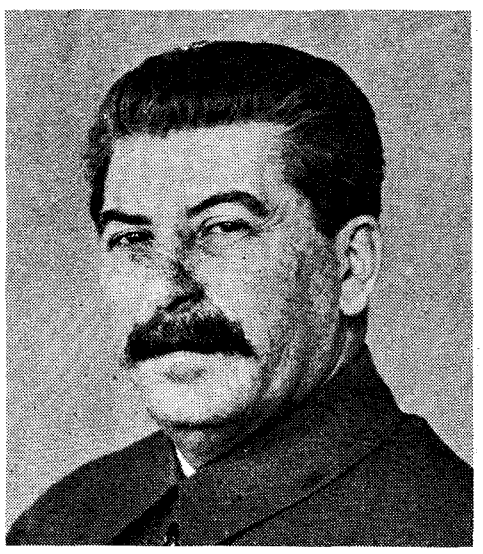
Soviet Murder, Inc.

Assassination Is Still a Communist Weapon

From the Richmond *News Leader*

It is 10 a.m., Oct. 12, 1957, in Munich, Germany. A man starts to climb a flight of stairs in a public building. At the same instant, another man starts down the same stairs; he is carrying a carefully folded sheet of newspaper. The two men meet about one-third of the way up the stairs. Suddenly—unexpectedly—the man with the newspaper raises his right hand, points a small metal cylinder at the other's face, and presses a spring trigger. A fine liquid spray of prussic acid is ejected into the man's face.

He falls forward—dead almost instantaneously. He is a victim of the Soviet Union's foreign policy;



The methods are still the same as in the days of Stalin.

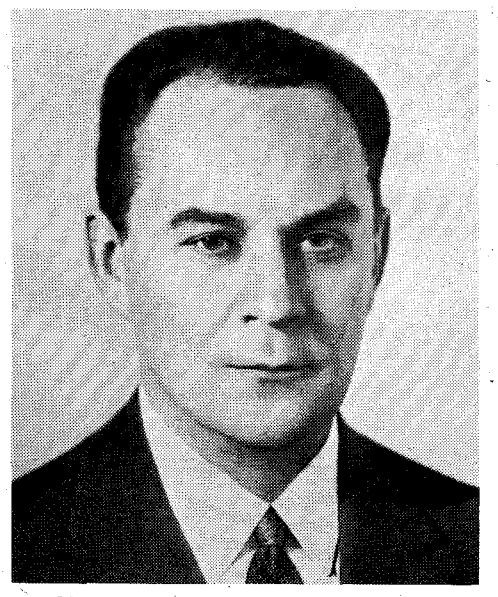
he actively opposed the spread of communism.

The victim was Lev Rebet, an anti-Communist Ukrainian exile; he edited an anti-Soviet newspaper in West Germany. His assassin, Bogdan Stashynsky, was a specifically selected and trained Soviet intelligence agent. In Munich in 1959, Stashynsky murdered again: His second victim was another Ukrainian exile, Stefan Bandera. In 1961, conscience-stricken, Stashnysky defected to the West, turned himself over to West German authorities, was tried and sentenced for his crimes.

Last week, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee released testimony by another defector from communism, Peter S. Deriabin. Mr. Deriabin, who defected in 1954, began his career in Soviet espionage as a member of SMERSH. He progressed through the NKVD, the MVD and the KGB under various regimes until he was a top member of the Soviet security apparatus. Most recently, he has served as translator of the controversial *Penkovskiy Papers.*

In his recent testimony, Mr. Deriabin told from firsthand knowledge how assassination, kidnapping, torture and terror have become established practices of Soviet policy. Such activities are carried out by Department 13 of Foreign Intelligence Directorate of State Security in the Soviet government. Department 13 is known in the Soviet Union as the "Department of Blood-Wet Affairs," the *Mokryie Dela.*

Department 13 keeps dossiers on anti-Soviet and anti-Communist persons and



Alexander Shelepin, former head of the Soviets' violence-prone Department 13.

groups throughout the world. A special "most wanted" list of anti-Communists is maintained. "On the order of the chairman of state security, they were to be assassinated or poisoned or kidnapped or killed," Deriabin testified. Special targets for murder are selected only by the highest echelons of the Soviet government, however.

For example, Dr. Walter Linse, acting chief of one of the most effective anti-Communist organizations in West Berlin, was kidnapped July 8, 1952, by Soviet and East German agents; he never was heard from again. His abduction was reported directly to the top leaders in government, including Stalin, Khrushchev, Beria, Molotov, Bulganin, Vishinsky, Malenkov, Mikoyan and Kaganovich.

The primary targets for assassination are Communist defectors, anti-Soviet agents, and persons who assemble data about Soviet injustice. But Department 13 also strikes at others: Any anti-Communist individual or group may be subjected to prolonged propaganda attacks, blackmail, or character assassination. Thus, American political candidates—Sen. Goldwater's name was mentioned—become targets of Soviet intelligence.

Mr. Deriabin's testimony effectively refutes all arguments that Soviet policy has liberalized since Stalin's time. Quite the contrary. There has been a steady increase in espionage activity, particularly in Latin America. Increased emphasis has been placed on involving young people throughout the world in Communist causes. Second-generation Marxists are getting special preference in promoting such activities.

Alexandr Shelepin, formerly commander of Department 13 and former chief of the Communist Youth organization *Komsomol,* is now deputy premier of the Soviet Council of Ministers. His prominence proves that in the Soviet government today there still is room at the top for those with blood on their hands.

Remember to Give HUMAN EVENTS This Christmas, See Page 16.

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Raid on the Stockpiles

Did LBJ Put Prosperity Above Preparedness?

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Worry-warts about presidential power must have been dozing when Mr. Johnson lifted 200,000 tons of copper from the national stockpile and dumped them onto the general economy.

Two Republicans did remonstrate over the stockpile raid, but they were the Senate and House minority leaders, Dirksen and Ford, whose duties require them to be fault-finders. Strangely, the regular guardians of government-by-law-not-men gave consent by silence to the President's action—but it's a power move that ought to be questioned.

It ought to be questioned, even though LBJ acted—this time—in what appears to be the national interests. He pleased just about everybody—even if he had to bend the law. Copper producers, copper consumers, gimlet-eyed economists who watch the inflation indicators, all felt that the President did right to loose more of this metal into the hungry maw of the 56-month-old prosperity. Practically everybody seemed to agree that the stockpile could be raided with nothing except good results.

But it is far from being an open-and-shut case. The President reached for his emergency powers, and he needed a very elastic definition of "emergency."

Back in March, there was an outbreak of fever in South Viet Nam. Medical authorities found themselves short of quinine which, like copper, is stockpiled among the "strategic and critical materials." Under the Stockpiling Law (Public Law 520, 79th Congress) Congress holds jealous control over such items. But Section 5 of the act permits the President to make disposals "for purposes of the common defense." The quinine shortage in Viet Nam was a clear case where "the common defense" warranted the President to act under Section 5, and he did so.

Yes, but was he equally warranted to plead "the common defense" under Section 5 for the release of copper? All of the major American industries—the manufacturers of automobiles, television sets, household equipment—have been hurting for lack of copper. The supply was short, the prices high, and pressure on Washington intense.

A check-up by the Office of Emergency Planning found only 35,000 tons in government keeping that could be called surplus and the Commerce Department found a lower figure of 15,000 tons. The government's release of such small amounts would neither have satisfied the market, nor have restrained the creeping rise of prices.

In order to accomplish both these purposes, Mr. Johnson had three choices: he could recall Congress, or wait till the next congressional session in January, or fall back upon his emergency powers to act for an opinion. He decided, not surprisingly, to make it easy for the President. Section 5 was invoked, and the copper was released, just as the quinine had been.

Perhaps it is academic hair-splitting to raise the question at all. The President gave the domestic market what it needed, and he incidentally practiced some executive price control. Since virtually everybody benefited, virtually nobody squawked.

But the fact remains that Mr. Johnson reached into copper supplies which (unlike the aluminum stores) are officially marked as a strategic-critical reserve. In choosing between future war needs and present prosperity needs, he clearly put prosperity first and preparedness second. He did so, ironically, in the name of "common defense."

Probably nothing terrible will happen as a result of the decision. Maybe we are overstockpiled in copper, and would lose it all anyhow if we suffered a nuclear Pearl Harbor. But it's a bad precedent for any President to bend the law, even when popularly acclaimed for so doing. This time it may not matter. Next time it might.

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Featherbedders Want Jobs Back

From the Chicago *Tribune*

It is hard to believe that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen is serious in its demand that the railroads restore 17,500 unnecessary jobs which have been eliminated under the arbitration award of 1964. If ever a labor dispute was thoroughly adjudicated, this was it. For five years the issues were considered by a series of presidential boards and mediation bodies. Twice the matter went to the U.S. Supreme Court. Eventually Congress compelled a settlement by arbitration.

The arbitration board's authority expires next March 21. After that date the union will insist that every locomotive in freight and yard service be staffed with firemen, as they formerly were. If this is not done, said H.E. Gilbert, president of the union, there will be a strike.

Mr. Gilbert's threat will do about as much good for his union as hollering down a well. It is inconceivable that the courts would permit such a strike, or that Congress would fail to take whatever action was necessary to prevent it.

The firemen simply have no case. Since the introduction of the diesel locomotive there has been no need for a man to shovel coal and tend a fire. Experience of the railroads in the last 18 months has demonstrated conclusively that the elimination of firemen from freight and yard engines was right and proper.

The question of safety remains in dispute only because the union includes grade crossing accidents in its analysis of accident records. A fireman in a locomotive cab could no more prevent a grade crossing accident than the two men now in the cab—the engineer and head-end brakeman. The railroads have retained firemen in the cabs of passenger trains.

The arbitration award which permitted the railroads to eliminate firemen in freight service did not throw 17,500 men out of work overnight. All men with 10 years' seniority and more than two years of seniority were allowed to keep their jobs unless offered comparable jobs on the railroads. The only men who could be dismissed at once were those with less than two years' seniority.

A survey made by the railroad retirement board, a government agency, showed that after the arbitration award had been in effect for a year, less than 8 per cent of the firemen removed from jobs were unemployed. The railroads had paid $30 million in severance pay to men who went on to other jobs, self-employment, or training courses. Many used their severance pay for college expenses.

The demand of Mr. Gilbert for a restoration of all the firemen's jobs can be explained only by his desire to preserve his union and his job as president. The firemen's union would do better, in the long run, if it accepted the realities of the railroad business in this latter part of the 20th Century.

Steam locomotives are not coming back. Technological improvements will make more railroad jobs unnecessary. To protect themselves, the five unions of operating employes would be better off in one union. Their best chance of keeping their jobs lies in keeping the railroads prosperous and efficient.

☐ ☐ ☐

ARTHUR KROCK, New York *Times* columnist, notes the federal government is laying the groundwork for further regulation of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co.—"the only electrically powered public facility which continued to function as usual in the paralysis of light and power over 80,000 miles of the eastern U.S." Krock is appalled: "The plain moral . . . would seem to be that the more the public facilities under private management are forced into the federal pattern for physical centralization and government regulation, the greater the threat to the national security on which their continuous functioning depends."

☐ ☐ ☐

PUBLIC HEARINGS—Anti-poverty policy boards in more than 600 U.S. communities now must hold public hearings on local projects if a group seeking a place in a local Community Action Program asks for a public hearing. Citizens interested in attending or calling such hearings should contact the Community Action Program in their area.

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"Who's the liberal in your organization?" a hundred or more of our economy-minded subscribers angrily demand of us each week. "Who continues to waste money sending me subscription offers, when a check of your files would disclose that I've been a subscriber for years? Why do you practice 'Great Society' economics while preaching thrift? . . ."

A justified indictment to which we plead guilty. But there are reasons, good ones, why our readers are inundated with such mailings.

We have a mission to fulfill: to provide information to as many conservatives as possible and to turn luke-warm "middle-of-the-roaders" into committed conservatives (and liberals into middle-of-the-roaders). To do these things, we must broaden our circulation base and this requires that we invest heavily in mailing subscription offers to lists of names which we rent from other conservative organizations. If you have been an active conservative very long, your name will be found on one to 50 such lists.

To eliminate duplications in mailing, we would have to cross-check every list against our own subscriber files. This is impossible for two reasons: First, the cost of such an operation would be much, much greater than the cost of mailing out the duplications. (Honest!) Secondly, the organizations we rent lists from would not allow us to check their lists against our own.

That's how it is! We apologize for filling your mailbox, but suggest that, instead of indignantly stuffing your wastebasket with our letters, you consider this alternative:

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Court Decision Doesn't Prevent Government Registration of Reds

By BARRY GOLDWATER

There are reasons aplenty to criticize recent decisions of the Supreme Court. This nation's lawyers and judges have done a good and needed job of doing just that. But the court does not deserve the criticism it is bound to get from its recent decision that individual Communists may not be compelled to register under the 1950 Internal Security Act.

Let me repeat that, just in case you feel that your eyes are deceiving you. The court does *not* deserve the criticism it is bound to get.

Its decision was the only one it reasonably could have reached. Without softening for a moment any of my past and current criticism of the court, I applaud it wholeheartedly in this instance.

First of all, the decision was unanimous. It was concurred in by those justices who had steadfastly upheld the so-called conservative position in the court—that is, those who regard the court as the judge of constitutionality and not as the maker or re-maker of the Constitution.

All of the justices pointed out that making a man register under the act was, under any circumstance, making him testify against himself in violation of the Constitution's clear guarantee against self-incrimination.

It is irritating to see the Communist party gloat over the decision and in any way be aided by our laws. But it would be worse than irritating if a basic protection of our freedom were thrown out the window simply to inconvenience the Communist party. And, unfortunately, inconvenience is about all that the registration section could do.

Suggestions rejected when the Internal Security Act was being debated in Congress might have avoided, as it now turns out, this long much-ado-about-nothing in terms of making party members register.

There already existed, and still exists, a Foreign Agents Registration Act. There is also ample evidence and judicial procedure to peg the Communist party and its members as agents of a foreign power. Party members could have been approached under that existing registration act without getting into the Internal Security Act which, as the court has just ruled, is "permeated with criminal statutes" and thus open to the self-incrimination clause.

The Foreign Agents Registration Act, on the other hand, does not involve those criminal statutes. By it, a man who works in this country for a foreign government must openly declare it, register and file reports about his activities.

Now, short of outlawing the Communist party, which no less a person than J. Edgar Hoover has argued against, there is very little we can do beyond keeping a spotlight on the Communists for just what they are—agents of a foreign power.

This job might be possible through existing law and in such a way as to avoid the Supreme Court's very proper injunction. It all depends on the Department of Justice, which so far has been ineffectual, to say the least, in applying any laws to Communists. They seem even to have undercut the FBI in some instances.

To be sure, Supreme Court decisions also have contributed to the sorry state of our internal defenses against communism, the elimination of state anti-subversion laws being an example.

In the long run, however, our defenses against communism cannot be successfully manned by laws alone. Those defenses ultimately depend on the moral leadership of the nation and on the morale of individual citizens.

(Copyright 1965, Los Angeles *Times*)

McGovern's Plan to Feed the World

From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.) appears to fancy himself a 20th Century Malthus. His administrative assistant, Ben Stong, an old warhorse of the National Farmers Union, told the Nebraska Wheat Growers Association in McCook the other day that unless a world food program like one Mr. McGovern has proposed is put into practice the world will face famine by the late 1970s.

Under the McGovern proposal, the President of the United States would be authorized to spend gradually increasing amounts, eventually up to $3.5 billion a year, to buy food for needy nations around the world, and budget the cost to foreign aid. It is founded on the theory that the world population is increasing so fast that one of these days it will outrun the capacity of the earth to feed all the people.

Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834) was an English clergyman who objected when his church proposed to send shiploads of wheat to India. The Rev. Mr. Malthus argued that the wheat would merely enable the Indians to produce more Indians, and that eventually the Indians would clamor for more grain than England could produce.

The controversy waxed so warm that Malhus left the church and became a political economist of world renown for his theory that populations tend to increase faster than their capacity to produce the means of subsistence, and that if it were not for wars and pestilence, the world would starve to death.

Today, the world of science is taking great strides toward the eradication of pestilence, and all men are striving mightily to eliminate wars. If and when those great enemies of population increase are overcome, the Malthusian theory may come closer to proving itself.

But, contemplating that day, one becomes caught up in the earlier argument of Malthus that a nation which attempts to feed the world may some day find itself unable to keep up with the demand for handouts, and thus confront its own ruin.

Undoubtedly, the United States, with its fertile lands and agricultural know-how, can produce far more food and fiber than it does. But whether the United States can afford capacity farm production to feed an ever-growing world at U.S. taxpayer expense is another matter.

□ □ □

CUBAN SUBVERSION—At least 45 Cuban-trained guerrillas took part in the Dominican Republic revolt last April, a State Department report disclosed recently. The department charged that Cuba's General Directorate of Intelligence (GDI) "was responsible for training many Dominican Republic rebel leaders and had for some time provided financial support to the 14th of June political group and the Dominican Republic Popular Movement." The GDI is Cuba's principal agency for promoting subversion in other Latin American countries.

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A CHRISTMAS CRADLE SONG	VIRGIN SLUMBER SONG
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Completely Ignores Poverty Scandals

Sargent Shriver: The Administration's Glibbest Salesman

By TED LEWIS in the New York *Daily News*

When you hear Sargent Shriver tell it, his $1.9-billion anti-poverty operation is the most efficient, most successful and best-run outfit in the federal bureaucracy. And anyone who finds a little mess-up here and there, like a Job Corps riot, is just being picky and distorting the actual situation besides.

Shriver is easily the Administration's glibbest exponent of the Madison Avenue selling technique. Under President Kennedy, his brother-in-law, he did a masterful job in selling the Peace Corps to a skeptical Congress. Now he is busy defending the crusade against poverty with the characteristic zeal of a toothpaste salesman.

On November 25th he held forth for more than an hour at a press conference on the first anniversary of the anti-poverty program. Few questions were possible, for to any inquiry about reports of boondoggling or mismanagement in any specific Job Corps camps, Shriver delivered a statistical saturation answer, which took up to 20 minutes for almost every response.

Shriver is an expert in this kind of a snow job, for he can rattle off statistics as if his mind were an instant calculating machine.

When boxed into any sort of corner by a foxy questioner, he always succeeds in sliding out. The routine goes something like this: "Yes, I am concerned about such incidents at any Job Corps camp but, after all, you must remember these kids are school dropouts, and we have to expect a few problems in handling them."

Then come the statistics. Of all the boys and girls who have joined the Job Corps, 91.4 per cent of those who stayed in for one month remained in the program. This may be, as Shriver insists, an extremely significant percentage. But in order to get that 91.4 percentage to point to with pride, it was necessary to leave out another statistic. That one concerns the fact that 25 out of each 100 enrollees drop out in the first month at camp, which means that only about 65 out of every 100 stick to their Job Corps activities. In other words, the correct percentage is closer to 65, not 91.4 as produced by Shriver.

But similar statistics get spewed out almost as if Shriver's main interest was in an impressive row of figures rather than in straightening out a malfunctioning administrative setup. There is for example the statistic about how 1.2 million poor have been reached by the poverty program, while another 3 million have been affected indirectly—whatever that means.

All such figures gloss over the real trouble with Shriver's operations as anti-poverty czar. The fact is, as everybody with knowledge of Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity knows, the place is a bureaucratic mess. It is easily the worst-run agency in Washington, which is saying a lot.

Almost everybody working in anti-poverty headquarters is competing with somebody else. Three or four task forces often function competitively, each one working on the same problem as the other, unaware of the duplication of effort for weeks at a time.

What is worse is the way that Shriver tends to load up the anti-poverty operation with various society do-gooders.

Apparently he sees nothing incongruous about a millionaire heiress willing to help the poor by taking a $50-a-day "consultant" job in his agency.

Shriver thinks it is too bad that in a couple of cases salaries of community action program directors were higher than the local mayors received. But, to let Shriver coin his own phrase, those people distressed by such out-of-line salaries were "trying to make a mountain out of a molehill."

He did a most effective snow job on Congress to show that these directors of the local "War on Poverty" were generally paid less than the local Community Chest director or the superintendent of schools. His array of statistics was formidable, showing the pay levels in almost every city of size in the country. But when Congress returns in January, it is going to insist on a look at who is holding down $50-a-day consultant jobs in Washington, and why they were allowed to latch on to the poverty gravy train.

Congress will also examine the costs of some of the programs. The Job Corps itself involves a big chunk of money—$235 million—and as now planned it will eventually have 100,000 enrollees instead of the present 50,000.

It has been said, and not too convincingly denied, that it costs more to keep a boy in the Job Corps than to send him to Harvard. This was brought up during House hearings in October on Job Corps funds. Shriver's reply was an exercise in clever evasion.

"If you put all comparable costs on a nine-month basis," he testified, "this program is as cheap or cheaper than any college program. What you usually do not get out of college is the total cost. Either private persons put in money, or the taxpayers put in money."

He had a dim view of the importance of costs anyway, pointing out that while it costs $17,250 a year for a cadet in the Air Force Academy, it also "costs $4,165 to keep people in Englewood Prison [in Illinois]."

It is most probable that Shriver will not have to face the congressional music this winter on anti-poverty spending.

He is at heart a promoter, certainly not an administrator. He wants out of both his Peace Corps and his anti-poverty assignments. The foul-ups that have occurred on the poverty front, especially in the last few months, will have to be explained to Congress by Shriver's successor.

The poverty program's failures show that Shriver is at heart a promoter, not an administrator.

Kennedy Damages U.S. Abroad

From the San Diego *Union*

The wisdom of high-ranking officials of the United States of America addressing students in foreign countries, where radical and subversive elements can submit them to insults and even attacks, certainly is open to question.

The wisdom of a U.S. senator's using these same audiences to challenge the foreign policies of his own country is more than questionable. It is disgraceful.

Sen. Robert Kennedy of New York submitted himself to a crowd of radical students in Chile that shouted pro-Castro slogans, burned the American flag and hurled orange peels and eggs.

He has the sympathy of the American people in such a personal ordeal. But what is he doing in Latin America? He said he wanted to meet students, workers and the people generally.

He has been telling these people that his country is wrong, that the intervention of the United States in the Dominican Republic was a grievous mistake, and that there should be no inter-American security force as proposed by our government.

On his trip to South America Bobby Kennedy criticized U.S. policy in the Dominican Republic.

He has been telling rebellious radical students, among others, that he understands their revolutionary feelings and that his country looks with sympathy upon social and economic reforms in Chile.

He has succeeded only in making himself a target.

While Sen. Kennedy was speaking his personal piece, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, the official representative of the same government, was seeking to bring about in nearby Uruguay a better understanding of our policies regarding Latin America.

Is it the business of a U.S. senator to invade another country and tell its people how to run their affairs—and at the same time criticize his own country before anti-American crowds?

Is it the accepted duty of a senator to take to the political trail in a foreign country and tell its people the secretary of state is not speaking for all citizens of the United States on foreign policy?

In this situation Sen. Kennedy deliberately makes his own country a target.

We shouldn't be surprised. Sen. Kennedy has never demonstrated the judgment nor reflected the responsibility of a statesman. He injected himself into the radical demonstrations in this country against our policy in South Viet Nam, and the Associated Press reported on his press conference remarks "that in principle" he believed furnishing blood to North Viet Nam would be in "the oldest tradition of this country."

Former Sen. Barry Goldwater commented that this came "closer to treason than to academic freedom."

It is assumed there is no way to silence Sen. Kennedy nor to order him home. Presumably the people of the United States of America will have to endure him and his irresponsibility for years to come.

Boston's Youth Corps Problems

"In Boston's anti-poverty program, fraud, theft, sloppy administration and the political pork barrel have poisoned Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) projects, which the United States financed last spring for $1,837,712."

So wrote the Boston *Traveler's* prize-winning reporter Alice Burke recently. Stunned federal officials have held up additional funds for the project, pending further investigation. Highlights of the *Traveler* expose:

- More than 130 young people, whose family incomes were so high they were ineligible under official poverty standards, worked in a single NYC program last summer. Over a three-month period they collected upwards of $25,000 in federal money allocated for the poor.
- An ineligible 20-year-old corpsman falsified payrolls, forged identity cards and checks to steal more than $1,300 in wages due other NYC employes. He worked in collusion with a 42-year-old anti-poverty staffer.
- Administration was in such chaos that some enrolled youngsters worked four and five weeks before their names went on the payroll. Yet others were paid $1.25 an hour for doing absolutely nothing. At least one girl received checks for two jobs at the same time.
- A NYC counselor was hired despite a juvenile police record. "We needed counselors who could mix with hard-core youths and get them into NYC. He seemed just the man for that," an anti-poverty official explained. The counselor was arrested, shortly after being hired, on a bad-check charge.

□ □ □

KEEPING MUM—The State Department will not disclose how many Russian ships are going into North Viet Nam, asserting this information would compromise covert sources. The authoritative publication, *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, is not so sure: "A deeper reason may well be that the extent of this Soviet aid to North Viet Nam, if published, would undercut the official line that Russia is sending in only token amounts."

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The Soviet Union's Latest Seven-Year Flop

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Russia's Sputniks winging toward Venus help fix the great Soviet hoax firmly in the minds of the American people. The truth reaches us piecemeal, but the basic fact disguised by the scientific glamour (and competence) is that Russia is a poor, desperately poor, country.

Experts in the performing arts agree the Russians have always been magnificent showmen. The Slavic knack for the spectacular is as much a part of the Soviet Union as borsch. But every thoughtful study shows the country will remain a have-not nation as far ahead as any man can see.

In East Berlin I studied the Red government's own economic figures. Looking at satellite Germany from the living standards of the West looks bad, and it is bad. The East German standard of living is 30 per cent lower than that of West Germany. But when you look at East Germany from the USSR, it's a paradise. By Moscow's own figures the East German living standard there is 30 per cent higher than it is in the Soviet Union.

As one result, the prize assignment in the Russian Army today is to be sent

State Planning Commission Chairman Nikolai K. Baibakov has failed to increase Russia's agricultural production.

to East Germany. What we regard as a desert is a reward billet from the Russian viewpoint, and the cream of the crop in the Red Army is there—300,000 strong.

Soviet tourists on organized visits, too, commonly state, "We never had it so good." Only its strings with Moscow keep the East German government from playing up this fact to the East Germans.

Soviet economist Abel G. Aganbegyan, in turn, who heads the Laboratory of Economics-Mathematical Studies, created his own well-known controversy by announcing that Russia's agricultural growth rate in the past six years has declined from 8 per cent to below 1 per cent and that the growth rate of her employment as a whole has fallen two-thirds.

Unemployment has increased constantly and with alarming rapidity in the past two years. It turns from about 8 per cent in big cities to 25 per cent in the medium-sized towns.

This is confirmed even by Soviet Deputy Premier Veniamin E. Dymshits, chairman of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, the central agency that distributes industrial goods throughout the USSR.

Every index in the Kremlin's current seven-year plan has fallen, not risen. Only a few new dents have been made in the immense, chronic housing shortage and these (spectacular) chiefly in the capital cities. The standard of living for vast numbers outside such concentrated centers as Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk, Kiev, etc., has gone steadily, relentlessly down. No greater mistake can be made by an American visitor than to think these showcase places are typical of the USSR.

State Planning Commission Chairman Nikolai K. Baibakov, for his part, has dissolved the enormous administrative unit known as the "Virgin Lands Territory" project. This involved plowing up virgin lands in Kazakhstan, Western Siberia, the Urals and the Volga regions. It spread across an area as large as California, Arizona and Colorado combined.

Moscow designed the program to cure the grain shortage and as a future home for millions of extra citizens. But the steadily decreasing grain yields from the uprooted soil, culminating in the 1963-64 crop debacle, forecast the tremendous mistake.

Today most of the terrain is a dust bowl. The effect is about as incongruous as the great tsar bell of the Kremlin with its jagged hole. Food riots, entirely kept out of the domestic and foreign press, are about the only results.

Meanwhile, the general agricultural failures have cost the bulk of Russia's gold reserve. She has an unfavorable foreign trade balance year after year, and thus a continuous balance-of-payments problem that simply will not support her free world food purchases.

These exceeded $2 billion in the past two years alone. The drain cut her remaining gold reserve nearly in half and reduced it (as I verified independently in Zurich) to an authoritatively estimated $1.5 to $2 billion, which is less than Belgium's.

Nothing is clear to the Russian people. Who is there to tell them the truth? But there's no excuse for our own confusions, Soviet scientific distractions notwithstanding.

Soviet Deputy Premier Veniamin E. Dymshits has confirmed the rising unemployment in Russia.

The Soviet hoax is as phony as a wax apple.

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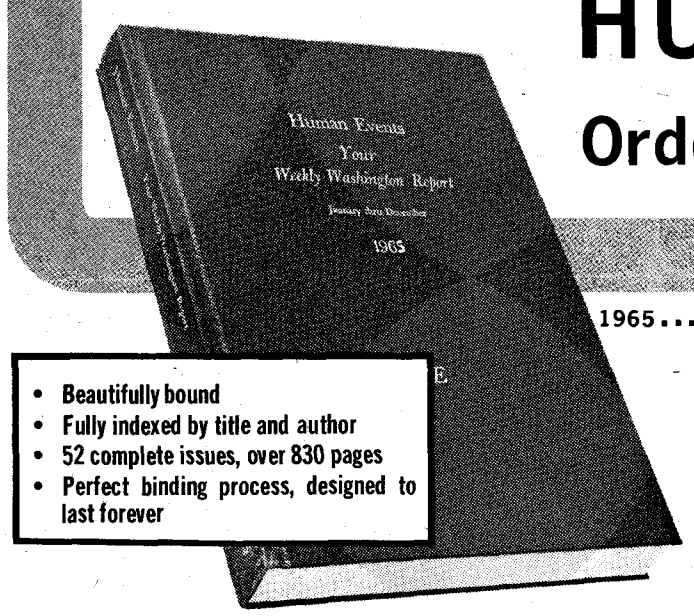

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Back to Gold?

By HENRY HAZLITT in the *Freeman*

In February of this year President de Gaulle of France startled the financial world by calling for a return to an international gold standard. American and British monetary managers replied that he was asking for the restoration of a world lost forever. But some eminent economists strongly endorsed his proposal. They argued that only a return to national currencies directly convertible into gold could bring an end to the chronic monetary inflation of the last 20 years in nearly every country in the world.

What is the gold standard? How did it come about? When and why was it abandoned? And why is there now in many quarters a strong demand for its restoration?

We can best understand the answers to these questions by a glance into history. In primitive societies exchange was conducted by barter. But as labor and production became more divided and specialized, a man found it hard to find someone who happened to have just what he wanted and happened to want just what he had. So people tried to exchange their goods first for some article that nearly everybody wanted so that they could exchange this article in turn for the exact things they happened to want.

This common commodity became a medium of exchange—money.

All sorts of things have been used in human history as such a common medium of exchange—cattle, tobacco, precious stones, the precious metals, particularly silver and gold. Finally gold became dominant, the "standard" money.

Gold had tremendous advantages. It could be fashioned into beautiful ornaments and jewelry. Because it was both beautiful and scarce, gold combined very high value with comparatively little weight and bulk; it could therefore be easily held and stored.

Gold "kept" indefinitely; it did not spoil or rust; it was not only durable but practically indestructible. Gold could be hammered or stamped into almost any shape or precisely divided into any desired size or unit of weight. There were chemical and other tests that could establish whether it was genuine.

And as it could be stamped into coins of a precise weight, the values of all other goods could be exactly expressed in units of gold. It therefore became not only the medium of exchange but the "standard of value." Records show that gold was being used as a form of money as long ago as 3,000 B.C. Gold coins were struck as early as 800 or 700 B.C.

One of gold's very advantages, however, also presented a problem. Its high value compared with its weight and bulk increased the risks of its being stolen. In the 16th and even into the 19th Centuries (as one will find from the plays of Ben Jonson and Moliere and the novels of George Eliot and Balzac) some people kept almost their entire fortunes in gold in their own houses. But most people came more and more into the habit of leaving their gold for safekeeping in the vaults of goldsmiths. The goldsmiths gave them a receipt for it.

Mr. Hazlitt is the well-known economic and financial analyst, columnist, lecturer and author of numerous books, including What You Should Know About Inflation.

Then came a development that probably no one had originally foreseen. The people who had left their gold in a goldsmith's vault found, when they wanted to make a purchase or pay a debt, that they did not have to go to the vaults themselves for their gold. They could simply issue an order to the goldsmith to pay over the gold to the person from whom they had purchased something.

This second man might find, in turn, that he did not want the actual gold; he was content to leave it for safekeeping at the goldsmith's, and in turn

Hazlitt: "The experience of the last 20 years in practically every country proves that the monetary managers are the pawns of the politicians and cannot be trusted."

issue orders to the goldsmith to pay specified amounts of gold to still a third person. And so on.

This was the origin of banks, and of both bank notes and checks.

If the receipts were made out by the goldsmith or banker himself, for round sums payable to bearer, they were bank notes. If they were orders to pay made out by the legal owners of the gold themselves, for varying specified amounts to be paid to particular persons, they were checks. In either case, though the ownership of the gold constantly changed and the bank notes circulated, the gold itself almost never left the vault!

When the goldsmiths and banks made the discovery that their customers rarely demanded the actual gold, they came to feel that it was safe to issue more notes promising to pay gold than the actual amount of gold they had on hand. They counted on the high unlikelihood that everybody would demand his gold at once.

The Fractional Reserve

This practice seemed safe and even prudent for another reason. An honest bank did not simply issue more notes, more IOUs, than the amount of actual gold it had in its vaults. It would make loans to borrowers secured by salable assets of the borrowers. The bank notes issued in excess of the gold held by the bank were also secured by these assets. An honest bank's assets therefore continued to remain at least equal to its liabilities.

There was one catch. The bank's liabilities, which were in gold, were all payable on demand, without prior notice. But its assets, consisting mainly of its loans to customers, were most of them payable only on some date in the future. The bank might be "solvent" (in the sense that the value of its assets equaled the value of its liabilities) but it would be at least partly "illiquid." If all its depositors demanded their gold at once, it could not possibly pay them all.

Yet such a situation might not develop in a lifetime. So in nearly every country the banks went on expanding their credit until the amount of bank-note and demand-deposit liabilities (that is, the amount of "money") was several times the amount of gold held in the banks' vaults.

In the United States today there are $11 of Federal Reserve notes and demand-deposit liabilities—i.e., $11 of money—for every $1 of gold.

Up until 1929, this situation—a gold standard with only a "fractional" gold reserve—was accepted as sound by the great body of monetary economists, and even as the best system attainable.

There were two things about it, however, that were commonly overlooked. First, if there was, say, four, five, or 10 times as much note and deposit "money" in circulation as the amount of gold against which this money had been issued, it meant that prices were far higher as a result of this more abundant money, perhaps four, five, or 10 times higher, than if there had been no more money than the amount of gold. And business was built upon, and had become dependent upon, this amount of money and this level of wages and prices.

Now if, in this situation, some big bank or company failed, or the prices of stocks tumbled, or some other event precipitated a collapse of confidence, prices of commodities might begin to fall; more failures would be touched off; banks would refuse to renew loans; they would start calling old loans; goods would be dumped on the market.

As the amount of loans was contracted, the amount of bank notes and deposits against them would also shrink. In short, the supply of money itself would begin to fall. This would touch off a still further decline of prices and buying and a further decline of confidence.

That is the story of every major depression. It is the story of the Great Depression from 1929 to 1933.

From Boom to Slump

What happened in 1929 and after, some economists argue, is that the gold standard "collapsed." They say we should never go back to it or depend upon it again. But other economists argue that it was not the gold standard that "collapsed" but unsound political and economic policies that destroyed it. Excessive expansion of credit, they say, is bound to lead in the end to a violent contraction of credit. A boom stimulated by easy credit and cheap money must be followed by a crisis and a slump.

In 1944, however, at a conference in Bretton Woods, N.H., the official representatives of 44 nations decided—mainly under the influence of John Maynard Keynes of Great Britain and Harry Dexter White of the United States—to set up a new international currency system in which the central banks of the leading countries would cooperate with each other and coordinate their currency systems through an International Monetary Fund.

They would all deposit "quotas" in the fund, only one-quarter of which need be in gold, and the rest in their own currencies. They would all be entitled to draw on this fund quickly for credits and other currencies.

The United States alone explicitly undertook to keep its currency convertible at all times into gold. This privilege of converting their dollars was not given to its own citizens, who were forbidden to hold gold (except in the form of jewelry or teeth fillings); the privilege was given only to foreign central banks and official international institutions. Our government pledged itself to convert these foreign holdings of dollars into gold on demand at the fixed rate of $35 an ounce. Two-way convertibility at this rate meant that a dollar was the equivalent of one-thirty-fifth of an ounce of gold.

The other currencies were not tied to gold in this direct way. They were simply tied to the dollar by the commitment of the various countries not to let their currencies fluctuate (in terms of the dollar) by more than 1 per cent either way from their adopted par values. The other countries could hold and count dollars as part of their reserves on the same basis as if dollars were gold.

IMF Promotes Inflation

The system has not worked well. There is no evidence that it has "shortened the duration and lessened the degree of disequilibrium in the international balance of payments of members," which was one of its six principal declared purposes. It has not maintained a stable value and purchasing power of the currencies of individual members. This vital need was not even a declared purpose.

In fact, under it inflation and depreciation of currencies have been rampant. Of the 48 or so national members of the fund in 1949, practically all except the United States devalued their currencies (i.e., reduced their value) that year following devaluation of the British pound from $4.03 to $2.80. Of the 102 present members of the fund, the great majority have either formally devalued since they joined, or allowed their currencies to fall in value since then as compared with the dollar.

The dollar itself, since 1945, has lost 43 per cent of its purchasing power. In the last 10 years alone the German mark has lost 19 per cent of its purchasing power, the British pound 26 per cent, the Italian lira 27 per cent, the French franc 36 per cent, and leading South American currencies from 92 to 95 per cent.

In addition, the two "key" currencies, the currencies that can be used as reserves by other countries—the British pound sterling and the U.S. dollar—have been plagued by special problems. In the last 12 months the pound has had to be repeatedly rescued by huge loans, totaling more than $4 billion, from the fund and from a group of other countries.

Balance of Payments

The United States has been harassed since the end of 1957 by a serious and apparently chronic "deficit in the balance of payments." This is the name given to the excess in the amount of dollars going abroad (for foreign aid, for investments, for tourist expenditures, for imports and for other payments) over the amount of dollars coming in (in payment for our exports to foreign countries, etc.).

This deficit in the balance of payments has been running since the end of 1957 at a rate of more than $3 billion a year. In the seven-year period to the end of 1964, the total deficit in our balance of payments came to $24.6 billion.

This had led, among other things, to a fall in the amount of gold holdings of the United States from $22.9 billion at the end of 1957 to $13.9 billion now—a loss of $9 billion gold to foreign countries.

Continued on next page

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Why Right-to-Work Laws Are Needed

Auto Workers' Money Goes to Canadian Socialists

From the Arizona *Republic*

During his recent appearance at the Phoenix Press Club, Sen. Paul Fannin once again stressed the value of the right-to-work law—not only to workers who oppose joining a union, but also for union members, in that their officials are thus forced to act responsibly in order to attract them to and keep them in the union.

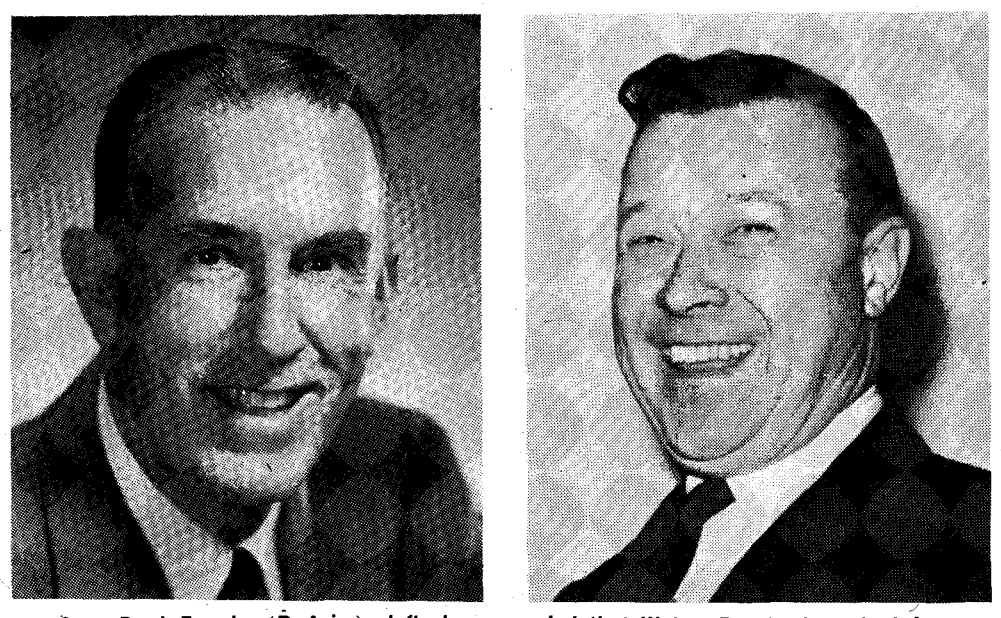
Among the revelations Sen. Fannin came up with was one which particularly interested us: The fact (which he later documented from official government publications) that Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers has been helping to finance a new Socialist party in Canada.

The publications clearly showed that the UAW in 1964 contributed at least $53,000 to the New Democratic party of Canada, in lump sums of $25,000, $18,000 and $10,000. What they do not show is the political complexion of the NDP, founded in 1961 and which in recent Canadian elections polled 18 per cent of the popular vote.

The NDP is an outgrowth of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, a fire-breathing leftist organization which viewed capitalism through the traditional distorted Marxist lens and condemned it in traditional, inflammatory Marxist language. The descendant organization is less fiery, of course, as befits any Western hemispheric party which in the 1960s is dedicated to proving that capitalism is a failure.

Nevertheless, NDP is, by admission of its own officials, dedicated to Socialist welfare programs and economic policies calling for government ownership of the nation's major industrial forces. Not surprisingly, the party is led by Thomas C. Douglas, former prime minister of Saskatchewan who masterminded that province's controversial Medicare program that led to a doctor's strike two years ago.

The NDP likewise follows the far-left line in international affairs. It opposes U.S. policy in Viet Nam, condemned U.S. action in the Dominican Republic, advocates admission of Red China to the United Nations and opposes "foreign ownership"—meaning U.S. economic investment—in Canada.



Sen. Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.), left, has revealed that Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers gave $53,000 to the New Democratic party in Canada.

NDP's 21 members in the House of Commons represent only 8 per cent of the House seats. Nevertheless, a more revealing statistic is that the NDP increased its popular vote 36 per cent in three years, even though the powerful Liberal party advocated many of the same programs.

The significance of this to Americans is that the UAW has funds available to give to a foreign political party, and that it should choose to give them to such a far-left organization. Obviously the overwhelming majority of UAW members are unaware of the union's generosity with their dues.

Just as obviously there probably isn't a UAW rank-and-file member who wouldn't prefer a reduction in dues to having Reuther's hierarchy make contributions to foreign political parties.

There are any number of arguments for states having the right to pass right-to-work laws. One of them is that it helps keep funds out of the hands of officials who would use them for questionable purposes.

NOTICE: "Spotlight on Congress," which usually appears on this page, will be resumed in January when the 2nd Session of the 89th Congress convenes.

Continued from Opposite Page

Back to Gold?

Other changes have taken place. As a result of the chronic deficit in the balance of payments foreigners have short-term claims on the United States of $27.8 billion. And $19 billion of these are held by foreign central banks and international organizations that have a legal right to demand gold for them. This is $5 billion more gold than we hold altogether.

Even of the $13.9 billion gold that we do hold, the treasury is still legally obliged to keep some $8.8 billion against outstanding Federal Reserve notes.

This is why officials and economists not only in the United States but all over the Western world are now discussing a world monetary reform. Most of them are putting forward proposals to increase "reserves" and to increase "liquidity." They argue that there isn't enough "liquidity"—that is, that there isn't enough money and credit, or soon won't be—to conduct the constantly growing volume of world trade. Most of them tell us that the gold standard is outmoded. In any case, they say, there isn't enough gold in the world to serve as the basis for national currencies and international settlements.

The Minority View

But the advocates of a return to a full gold standard, who though now in a minority include some of the world's most distinguished economists, are not impressed by these arguments for still further monetary expansion. They say these are merely arguments for still further inflation. And they contend that this further monetary expansion or inflation, apart from its positive dangers, would be a futile means even of achieving the ends that the expansionists themselves have in mind.

Suppose, say the gold-standard advocates, we were to double the amount of money now in the world. We could not, in the long run, conduct any greater volume of business and trade than we could before. For the result of increasing the amount of money would be merely to increase correspondingly the wages and prices at which business and trade were conducted.

In other words, the result of doubling the supply of money, other things remaining unchanged, would be roughly to cut in half the purchasing power of the currency unit. The process would be as ridiculous as it would be futile. This is the sad lesson that inflating countries soon or late learn to their sorrow.

The detractors of gold complain that it is difficult and costly to increase the supply of the metal, and that this depends upon the "accidents" of discovery of new mines or the invention of better processes of extraction. But the advocates of a gold standard argue that this is precisely gold's great merit. The supply of gold is governed by nature; it is not, like the supply of paper money, subject merely to the schemes of demagogues or the whims of politicians. Nobody ever thinks he has quite enough money. Once the idea is accepted that money is something whose supply is determined simply by the printing press, it becomes impossible for the politicians in power to resist the constant demands for further inflation.

Gold may not be a theoretically perfect basis for money; but it has the merit of making the money supply, and therefore, the value of the monetary unit, independent of governmental manipulation and political pressure.

And this is a tremendous merit. When a country is not on a gold standard, when its citizens are not even permitted to own gold, when they are told that irredeemable paper money is just as good, when they are compelled to accept payment in such paper of debts or pensions that are owed to them, when what they have put aside, for retirement or old age, in savings banks or insurance policies, consists of this irredeemable paper money, then they are left without protection as the issue of this paper money is increased and the purchasing power of each unit falls; then they can be completely impoverished by the political decisions of the "monetary managers."

I have just said that the dollar itself, "the best currency in the world," has lost 43 per cent of its purchasing power of 20 years ago. This means that a man who retired with $10,000 of savings in 1945 now finds that that capital will buy less than three-fifths as much as it did then.

But Americans, so far, have been the very lucky ones. The situation is much worse in England, and still worse in France. In some South American countries practically the whole value of people's savings—92 to 95 cents in every dollar—has been wiped out in the last 10 years.

Great Merit of Gold

The tremendous merit of gold is, if we want to put it that way, a negative one. It is not a managed paper money that can ruin everyone who is legally forced to accept it or who puts his confidence in it. The technical criticisms of the gold standard become utterly trivial when compared with this single merit. The experience of the last 20 years in practically every country proves that the monetary managers are the pawns of the politicians, and cannot be trusted.

Many people, including economists who ought to know better, talk as if the world had already abandoned the gold standard. They are mistaken. The world's currencies are still tied to gold, though in a loose, indirect and precarious way. Other currencies are tied to the American dollar, and convertible into it, at definite "official" rates (unfortunately subject to sudden change) through the International Monetary Fund. And the dollar is still, though in an increasingly restricted way, convertible into gold at $35 an ounce.

Indeed, the American problem today, and the world problem today, is precisely how to maintain this limited convertibility of the dollar (and hence indirectly of other currencies) into a fixed quantity of gold. This is why the American loss of gold, and the growing claims against our gold supply, are being viewed with such concern.

The $35 Question

The crucial question that the world has now to answer is this: As the present system and present policies are rapidly becoming untenable, shall the world's currencies abandon all links to gold, and leave the supply of each nation's money to be determined by political management, or shall the world's leading currencies return to a gold standard—that is, shall each leading currency be made once again fully convertible into gold on demand at a fixed rate?

Whatever may have been the shortcomings of the old gold standard, as it operated in the 19th and the early 20th Century, it gave the world, in fact, an international money. When all leading currencies were directly convertible into a fixed amount of gold on demand, they were of course at all times convertible into each other at the equivalent fixed cross rates. Businessmen in every country could have confidence in the currencies of other countries. In final settlement, gold was the one universally acceptable currency everywhere. It is still the one universally acceptable commodity to those who are still legally allowed to get it.

Instead of ignoring or deploring or combating this fact, the world's governments might start building on it once more.

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